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INTERESTING FACTS,

&c. &c.

INTERESTING FACTS

RELATING TO

The Fall and Death

OF

JOACHIM MURAT,

KING OF NAPLES;

THE CAPITULATION OF PARIS IN 1815;

AND THE

SECOND RESTORATION

OF

THE BOURBONS:

ORIGINAL LETTERS FROM KING JOACHIM TO THE AUTHOR,

WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR, AND OF HIS PERSECUTION BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

BY FRANCIS MACIRONE,

LATE AID-DE-CAMP TO KING JOACHIM; KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF THE TWO SICILIES, &c. &c.

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INTERESTING FACTS,

&c. &c.

THE following pages relate to an extraordinary period in the history of Europe, and contain the recital of some anecdotes and circumstances, which cannot fail to be interesting to those who may wish to be informed of every thing connected with the events of that time.

The share I had in some of those events, enables me to impart to my narrative, the important and valuable quality of truth; yet I should not have ventured to appear before the public as an author, if it were not necessary for the vindication of my character.

Among the first acts of the existing government of France, was the abuse of its newly acquired power by persecuting and oppressing me; and I know too well, when any government chuses to raise the arm of oppression against an individual, that not only the person, the property, and the character of that individual are in considerable peril, but that his most successful efforts, aided by innocence, are

not always sufficient to secure his escape with his reputation and interests entirely unimpaired.

Whether I merited persecution from any quarter, and particularly whether I merited it from the government of France, the reader will be enabled to judge, when he has perused the following sheets, in which I have fairly exposed every act of my life connected with the events which were then passing.

Without this appeal to the public, I could not wholly relieve myself from the effects of the persecution of which I complain.

It was generally known, the free press of this country, and even the slavish press of France having contributed to make it known, that having been dispatched as the accredited agent of the allied powers, to impart to the late King Joachim of Naples, the determination of those powers in regard to his future destination, on my return (having executed this mission to the best of my ability) I was seized at Marseilles by an order of the French government, my property and papers were taken from me, and myself thrown into a dungeon where I remained twenty-three days, and where I was denied the common necessaries of life, that I was removed from thence to Paris, and then confined for upwards of a month in the prisons of the *Conciergerie* and the *Abbaye*.

It is difficult to believe that I could have been treated with all this severity, without having committed some crime by which I had rendered myself

deserving of punishment; and yet the ingenuity of my persecutors was not sufficient to enable them to discover or to invent, a single charge against me for which they dared to put me upon my trial; but after a rigid imprisonment, and much insolent and cruel treatment, I was set at liberty, guiltless of any offence, but with my character sullied by the outrages which had been inflicted on me—inflicted on me by the orders of a king, not unacquainted with misfortune, but who, from his indifference to the sufferings of others, seems not to have learnt the lesson which a wise and benevolent man would have derived from calamity.

To make my innocence known co-extensively with the acts of persecution of which I complain, is the principal object of the following pages. A candid statement of my conduct in regard to the transactions which could alone have led the French government to single me out as an object of its vengeance, will not only prove my innocence of any crime, but will, I think, satisfy every unprejudiced mind, that I had a claim to the regard and consideration of the very government which sought to destroy me.

A demand made by the English minister at Paris for my liberation, as an Englishman, was falsely answered by the French minister of police, "*that "I was a native of Rome.*" This reply shews that no ordinary pains had been taken to investigate and ascertain my origin and history, in the hope of

discovering some real or pretended ground for my detention. The answer although not true is so far near the truth—that Rome is the country of my remote and immediate ancestors, and but for the disasters which befel my family, it would probably have been mine also.——There is nothing in the circumstances of my family or myself, with respect to which I would not willingly challenge investigation, and although it will detain my readers for a short time, from the more interesting parts of this publication, yet with the view of engaging more sympathy, I will take the liberty to lay before them a short history of the misfortunes of my house,—misfortunes, with which it could not have been assailed, in a country enjoying like England, the protection of laws ad ministered with justice, without regard to power or station.

My grandfather, Francis Philip Macirone, was at the head of a noble and very wealthy family of Rome. It was a custom at Rome, and I believe in many other countries, for the nobility and rich persons to farm certain branches of the public revenue.

My grandfather engaged in several of these speculations with his government, and besides, obtained a lease of the great alum-mines of La Tolfa,

to which was attached 2700 acres of land, and for which he paid to the government an annual rent of 54,000 crowns.

For many years of this lease, the mines were wholly unproductive, and my grandfather had to pay the enormous rent, without any return. Two or three years before the end of the lease, some valuable veins of alum-ore were discovered, but it was then too late for him to derive much benefit from the discovery, without a renewal of the lease.

My grandfather who was a scientific man, had laid out vast sums in experiments and improvements on these works, the most considerable of which was, the construction, at his own expence, of a magnificent paved road, of upwards of fifteen miles in length, extending from La Tolfa to Civita Vecchia, which road still bears the name of *Via Macirone*. It may therefore be supposed, that the person who had subjected himself to all this expense, would be particularly anxious to renew his lease when the term expired. Offers for a new lease were to be given in to the secretary of state for the finance department. My grandfather delivered in his tender, by which he proposed to pay an additional rent of several thousand crowns.

Monsignore Banchieri, who was then treasurer of Rome, was related to our family, but for some unaccountable reason, he determined to favour the views of the Marquis Lepri, who was likewise our relation, and a secret candidate for the occupa-

tion of these mines. This minister, and the Marquis Lepri, corruptly concerted the means of insuring the acceptance of the proposals of the latter.

The tenders were to be delivered sealed into the office of the treasurer, previously to their being submitted to the inspection of the committee of ministers called the *Camera* or Chamber. Monsignore Banchieri, whose administration was one scene of injustice, violence, and oppression, through the medium of his private secretary, who ultimately bore testimony against him, procured a *seal* to be engraved similar to my grandfather's. He *then* privately broke open his letter of tender, and thereby becoming acquainted with his proposal, inserted a somewhat higher offer in the tender of the Marquis Lepri, for which purpose a blank space had been left in it. By this fraud the minister gained his point—Lepri's offer was accepted, and my grandfather's consequently rejected.

The offer made by my grandfather so considerably exceeded the rent payable by the preceding lease, that this circumstance, together with some others, excited a suspicion, that unfair means had been employed to influence the result. This suspicion acquired double weight from the well known character of the minister Banchieri, whose name at Rome, is synonymous with every thing base, deceitful, and malignant.

It appears that at the expiration of the lease here spoken of, the Papal Government, aggregatel-

termed *La Camera*, was indebted to my grandfather in very considerable sums, independent of the amount he had expended in the construction of the *Via Macirone*, which that government had agreed to repay him.

The government influenced by Banchiere, proved false to its engagements, and a law-suit was commenced by my grandfather, for the purpose of enforcing them; in which the fact of his letter having been privately opened, was proved in all its circumstances.—The minister's private secretary, who had been employed on the occasion, confessed his crime; the engraver who had made the imitation of my grandfather's seal, and the original seal itself, were both discovered; and my grandfather obtained a decree of the supreme tribunal of Rome, (La Rota) that ample reparation should be made him; that he should be put in possession of the alum-mines, and that the Camera should defray the enormous costs which had been incurred. But the Papal Government interposed its authority to prevent the execution of this decree, and to renew and protract the suit, but, after several years of persevering exertion, the same tribunal issued a second decree to the same effect in our favour.

In England, where the laws are so wisely and impartially administered, it will scarcely be believed that a government would dare to interpose its authority, to stop the course of justice, and to deprive an individual of his rights; particularly

after those rights had been solemnly investigated and confirmed by two successive determinations of a court of competent jurisdiction: but so it was in this case; and the execution of the second decree was evaded as the first had been. The payments were delayed, and it became necessary to have recourse to other proceedings. From the experience of the past, no solid hope could be entertained, that even a third favourable decree would be productive of any beneficial consequence. The effort was however made; and after the lapse of fifteen years of renewed and increased exertion, the former decrees were confirmed, and another sterile victory was the result. Upon any less cogent authority than the documents relating to this subject, I should have difficulty in stating, that this third decision was disregarded by the unjust government of Pope Pius the Sixth.

The former immense losses which my grandfather had sustained, and the enormous expence of this tedious suit, had compelled him to sell, or incumber, nearly the whole of his property, in, and near Rome, as well as an estate which had belonged to him, near Ponte Corvo on the river Garigliano, in the kingdom of Naples.* He persisted, how-

* This place, which is one of the most fertile and picturesque spots in the world, is to be found in the good maps of Italy under the name of *Villa Macirone*. A short time ago the estate belonged to the national domains of Naples, and

ever, in his claim for several years longer, till at length overcome by the weight of his misfortunes he died from disgust and chagrin.

Four sons and two daughters were left to share the remnant of his property. The daughters had already abandoned the world, and retired to the convent of St. Cecilia, where they are still secluded. The sons sought different fortunes, two of them entered the French army, of whom one perished in the American war. My father, who was the eldest, had obtained through the patronage of the Marquis Tanucci, then prime minister at Naples, the post of Neapolitan consul-general at Marseilles. On the resignation of the Marquis Tanucci, my father lost his situation. It was then that he entered the French army, in which he served several years. During the period of peace which preceded the French revolution, he travelled over the greater part of Europe and some part of Asia. He at length settled in England, where he married an English lady, and has since devoted himself entirely to commercial pursuits.

Thus by the strong hand of despotism was a family overthrown which for centuries had enjoyed an uninterrupted series of prosperity and honour. Of our former possessions all that now remains to us at Rome is a splendid sepulchre in the church of St. Louis; and our cause, which continues in the

had King Joachim preserved his kingdom, I should have been (according to his promise) put in possession of it.

state in which it was left by my grandfather, the reiterated decrees in our favour being unrevoked. I have in my possession all the papers and documents respecting it, and should fortune ever put it in my power I shall resume the claim with a confident hope of success, founded on the reformed mode in which the functions of government are now exercised, and justice is administered in that country.

One only of my grandfather's sons remained at Rome, where he held the respectable situation of director-general of the posts, and was much esteemed. At his repeated solicitations my father determined to send me, his eldest son, to Italy; and in the year 1803 at the age of fifteen, I left England for the first time, to visit the land of my Italian ancestors.

About six months after my arrival one of the fevers so prevalent in Rome attacked my uncle's family, and nine members of it, including my uncle and aunt, were its victims. My aunt was at that time only twenty-five years of age, and was justly celebrated as one of the most beautiful and amiable women in Italy.

I remained in Rome ten months after this desolating catastrophe, when at the desire of my father, who wished me to acquire a knowledge of commercial affairs, I repaired to Naples,* and lived for some

* I shall ever remember with pleasure the delightful pedestrian journey I made from Rome to Naples, through the Appenines with Mr. R. Smirke, who now ranks so high in his profession as an architect.

time as the guest of a friend of his, an eminent merchant in that city. In the year 1809 some personal difference having arisen between us, I left his house and discontinued my commercial education, and from that period, disengaged from any particular pursuit, I lived either alone or with an English friend.

Soon after the occupation of Naples by the French, in 1805, I was preparing to return to England, and had actually obtained my passport, when in consequence of the noted decree of Berlin, I was constituted a prisoner of war, and detained as such in that country nearly seven years. In the year 1812 I obtained an order for my exchange with a French officer named Daure, who was a prisoner in England; and I should have immediately proceeded to my native country, but I was much reduced by a typhus fever I had caught in the marshes about Minternum; and my departure was besides delayed by my being compelled to wait for a remittance from England, the letter which contained it having been detained (from what cause I know not) eleven months on its way to Naples.

About this time Lord William Bentinck landed at Naples, and concluded the well known arrangement with King Joachim, who from that moment became a party in the coalition against France. During my long captivity, I had become intimate with most of the principal persons of the Neapolitan court, many of whom had known my

family and connections at Rome, and I was generally favoured with their particular regard.

It will not appear surprising that under these circumstances I should be induced to enter the Neapolitan service. I had no particular avocation —no fortune to depend upon for my future existence, while a brilliant career was thus opened to me in the service of an ally of Great Britain. Through the recommendation of my friends, and from some previous knowledge which the king had of me, he was pleased to place me near his person, in quality of aide-de-camp. I served him with zeal and disinterestedness. His cause and that of my country were then the same. I received from him such marks of kindness as he thought I deserved for doing my duty, which however never consisted in the exercise of any functions incompatible with my feelings as an Englishman, and my allegiance to the sovereign of my own country.

Here I may be permitted to make a few observations on the character of the sovereign in whose service I engaged, in vindication of my own conduct as well as that of numerous Englishmen of high rank and character, whose courteous and liberal reception at the Neapolitan court, has by the prejudiced and uninformed been made the subject of calumniating reflection, instead of being considered, as in truth it was, an honourable distinction conferred upon them by a valiant and generous prince—by one who was highly attached to the British name and

character—by one too, whose ruin was aided if not ultimately consummated, by his implicit confidence in British faith and honour. King Joachim was eminently gifted with that nobleness and generosity of character which Englishmen so well know how to appreciate. The treatment the English prisoners received from the government was highly indulgent, even to the extent of being allowed the singular privilege of visiting, upon their parole, Rome, Florence, and every part of Italy. Whenever it was necessary to defend a national privilege, and the dignity of his crown, or to display the benevolence of his heart, he did not hesitate to offer resistance to the government of France, all powerful as that government then was, and abundant as were his reasons for endeavouring to keep the favour of the ruler of that country. Instances of such resistance several times occurred in behalf of the English prisoners in Naples, when the French government demanded that they should be sent to the depôts in France.

In the 14th article of a treaty formed in the beginning of 1814, between Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, it was stipulated that this treaty should not be an obstacle to any engagement that the high contracting powers might have made with other states, nor hinder them from forming other treaties in the view of obtaining the result which that treaty contemplated, namely, the success of the war against Napoleon. It was thought that nothing would more effectually conduce to this end than de-

priving Napoleon of his only remaining ally, the King of Naples—an ally, who evidently then held the fate of Italy in his hands. With this view Austria dispatched Count Neiperg to Naples, and on the 11th January, 1814, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was signed between Austria and Naples, with the sanction of the allies; and it is a notorious fact, that in the conferences at Chatillon, the French plenipotentiaries having presented divers propositions concerning Italy, they were answered by the ministers of the four great powers—"That "Italy then formed no part of the question, the "coalition having already resolved to re-establish the "ancient governments of that country, *except at "Naples, where the title of King Joachim had "been recognised by virtue of a treaty which Aus-"tria had concluded, and to which England had "acceded.*"*

When King Joachim received the proposal to enter into the coalition, he declared in the most precise terms to Count Neiperg, the Austrian plenipotentiary, "That he would never carry his arms "beyond the *frontiers of his own kingdom*, or take "an active part in the war against France, until he "had engaged in a previous treaty of peace and "alliance with England."

The views of the king upon this point, proved perfectly conformable to those of Austria and the

* The treaty here spoken of, is that of 11th January, 1814.

other coalesced powers. A treaty between Great Britain and Naples, would allow of the disposal and employment against the common enemy, not only of the forces of King Joachim, but also of those which the English had in Sicily; and the Austrian plenipotentiary declared that England was ready to accede to the proposed treaty, and that Lord Aberdeen was provided with full powers for that purpose. This declaration was confirmed by the exhibition of a letter from the English minister, in which Lord William Bentinck was enjoined to lose no time in concluding a preliminary convention with the King of Naples, which should put an end to hostilities between the two states.

Lord William Bentinck arrived at Naples in the English frigate, the Furieuse, in the beginning of January, 1814, and signed a convention with the Neapolitan government, which was not a mere armistice, but which placed affairs on a footing of perfect peace. A *free commercial intercourse* was authorized, and it declared that *the ports should be reciprocally open to the people of the two nations.* This carried with it the positive recognition of the Neapolitan flag: in short, the convention was considered by the contracting parties, as having so perfectly the force of a treaty of alliance, though it might not yet have the form, that no time was lost in arranging the plan of the campaign, in which the Austrian, English, and Neapolitan troops should

simultaneously act for the attainment of the same object.

The king immediately opened the campaign, and advanced with his army to Bologna, without waiting for the ratification of the treaty with Austria. On his arrival at that place, he learnt by a messenger from Basil, that some modifications were proposed. His surprise was at first very great, as the conditions of the treaty had been previously approved by the Austrian government. It turned out, however, that there was nothing objectionable in the proposed alterations, which had been suggested, not by Austria, *but by England;* and the King of Naples was assured that if they were admitted, then the treaty might be regarded as being in common with Great Britain. These modifications did not in any way alter the substance of the stipulations previously agreed to, they only related to territorial indemnifications which were to be granted to King Joachim at the expence of the Papal See.*

The propositions on this subject were highly acceptable to the feelings of the king; he considered them as a reiterated proof of the sincerity of the English government; and he caused it to be made known to Lord Castlereagh that he should rely on the word of an English minister with as much

* See Lord Wm. Bentinck's note addressed to the King of Naples, marked (D) in the Appendix.

confidence as if the treaty had been already concluded in the most solemn form. But the English government did not think it proper that the king should remain without a formal guarantee on its part; and Lord William Bentinck having arrived at the head-quarters of the king, declared anew, that his government entirely adhered to the treaty concluded on the 11th January, between his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and his Majesty the King of Naples; and that it assented to the advantages stipulated in favour of the king, under the conditions insisted upon by Austria, of an active and immediate co-operation of the Neapolitan army with the allied forces.

This declaration, which perfectly agreed with all that had been before said by Lord Castlereagh, was confirmed by several dispatches from that minister, which were communicated to the king, and particularly by a letter in which Lord Castlereagh declared,* " *that it was only from motives of deli-* " *cacy towards the King of Sicily, that the Eng-* " *lish government was induced to delay for a* " *moment the conclusion of a particular and* " *special treaty of alliance with the King of Na-* " *ples; the British government being desirous that* " *a treaty of indemnity to the King of Sicily,* " *which could not yet be framed, should go hand* " *in hand with the treaty of alliance with King*

* See Appendix, note of Lord W. Bentinck, marked. (D)

" *Joachim.*" If further confirmation of this treaty were wanted, it would be found in the unequivocal fact of the Neapolitan and English troops having fought together under King Joachim's command against the common enemy.

The King of Naples had thus engaged in the war against France, and the allied powers were indebted to him for a support which enabled them to pursue the advantages which they had already obtained. *Without his co-operation the invasion of France would never have been attempted, (although Swiss deputies had offered the Pont d'Or for the passage into France of Prince Schwartzenburg's army.)*— The declaration of Prince Schwartzenburg and of the ministers and generals of Austria on this subject are extant, and prove the assertion beyond the possibility of contradiction.

When Prince Eugene quitted the line of the Adige, and fell back on the Mincio, Marshal Bellegarde addressed a letter to the King of Naples, in which he ascribed *this movement, which caused the surrender of Verona, uncovered Venice, and abandoned the fortresses of Osopo, Legnago, &c. &c. solely and entirely to the advance of the Neapolitan army*—This letter, which did so much honour to the candour of the marshal, and so much justice to the king, is a document still in existence.

If the King of Naples had been hostilely disposed towards the allies, he might have discomfited the whole plan of their campaign, and obliged them to

withdraw from the Rhine to *defend Vienna, then covered by a badly composed disposeable force of only* 36,000 *men*,* against which the King of Naples united with Prince Eugene, might have marched an army *of* 25,000 *French*, 30,000 *Neapolitans, and* 40,000 *veteran Italians.—Even a defensive attitude in concert with Prince Eugene, would have defeated all the views of the coalition, and obtained an honourable peace for Napoleon, with the much desired independence of Italy.*

A variety of circumstances had now combined to induce the king to doubt the sincerity of the allies.† The *Emperor of Austria had delayed for many days the transmission of his ratification of the treaty of the* 11*th January. Ferdinand of Sicily had published an order of the day*‡ *to some Sicilian troops about to land at Leghorn, in which they were informed that they were going to recover his kingdom of Naples, which he had never ceded, and never would cede. The English general, Lord W. Bentinck, had landed with these troops, under instructions to excite a revolution in Italy*,§

* There were besides about 30,000 men sick in the hospital.

† It was under the influence of this doubt, that the hesitation on the part of the king occurred, which Lord Wm. Bentinck complains of in his note: see Appendix (D).

‡ See Appendix (B).

§ See Appendix, Lord W. Bentinck's Proclamation to the Italians, and his letter of instructions to Colonel Ceravignac, marked (A) and (C).

and had insisted on the maintenance of a position (Tuscany) which intercepted the communication between the Neapolitan army and Naples; propositions at the same time were made in a foreign camp to Neapolitan generals and other officers for the expulsion of the then reigning dynasty from the throne of Naples. The doubts which these circumstances had excited, were removed by a declaration of General Sir Robert Wilson, at Bologna;* *that he considered the letter of Lord Castlereagh, containing the promise of a formal treaty, as of equal value and force with a treaty already signed. And that neither the executive authority, nor the parliament, would hesitate to recognize the validity of such an engagement.* Indeed, it was in his opinion, more imperative, if possible, than a regular treaty, *because it connected an appeal to honour with an obligation on good faith.* From that moment the king again made the most zealous efforts in the common cause.

That the King of Naples was in the result an enemy to France, in the *degree that he assisted the success of the allies* is undeniable; but it must in justice be stated, that he was induced to become so in consequence of Napoleon's having expressed a resolution to *dethrone him and incorporate Naples*

* Sir Robert Wilson, who was then British commissioner at the Austrian Italian army, had been appointed by Lord William Bentinck and Marshal Bellegarde, to negotiate with the king, and remove the existing misunderstandings.

with the kingdom of Italy. He knew that this design was only suspended, not relinquished. It was proposed, indeed, by Napoleon, as an indemnification, to make the king his captain-general, or constable of the empire, a post certainly of great honour, but inferior to an independent sovereignty of one of the finest countries of Europe, and which assured royal establishments to his children, already educated under that expectation.

The king, when informed of Napoleon's resolution, boldly avowed in his presence, that he would defend his throne by force of arms; and he ever afterwards felt that there was no security for his kingdom, whilst the French maintained dominion in Italy. He therefore co-operated with the allies, to confine the empire of Napoleon to *the Alps, the Rhine and the Pyrenees, confiding in the professed policy of Napoleon's father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, and in the strong ties by which he was bound to the family of Napoleon, which alone furnished a natural guarantee that the war against the power of France would not be converted into a personal war against his daughter, the husband of that daughter, and his grandson.*

The King of Naples would never have consented to the dethronement of Napoleon, who had given him his sister in marriage, and a sceptre; he never intended to assist in the conquest of France, his native country, and still the country of the former coadjutors of his fortunes. On various occasions

he expressed the strongest feelings on these points, so that the allied powers were never deceived by him as to the extent of the assistance on which they might calculate, or the nature of his co-operation.

The history of the campaign of the allies against the French, both in France and Italy, in 1813, and 1814, is so generally known, as to make it unnecessary for me to dwell upon it. It would besides be deviating from my purpose; but it is necessary, in order to explain the cause which induced King Joachim to attack the Austrians in the following year, 1815, that I should remind my reader, that in January, of that year, the congress was still assembled at Vienna, that Prince Talleyrand, on the part of King Louis, was indefatigable in his exertions to induce the Austrian government to withdraw their alliance from the King of Naples, from whom the allied powers had so recently received the most efficient support.*

It is impossible to divine the motives, either of policy, or of good faith, by which the British ministers were induced to join their efforts to those of France, to effect the destruction of a sovereign, whose alliance and co-operation they had so lately

* The enmity of Talleyrand to King Joachim was suspected to be of a personal nature, and that this enmity was increased by the loss of his principality of Beneventum, which was attached by the king to the *national domains* of Naples, on the king's accession to the coalition in 1814.

courted and enjoyed, and whose throne they had so lately guaranteed. Certain it is, that the Austrian government, being warmly urged to undertake the holy war of *legitimacy* against its ally, the King of Naples, at length expressed its willingness to comply, but alleged the exhausted state of the finances of the country. This difficulty was, it is said, immediately removed by the British ministers, who offered to defray all the expence of the expedition, and moreover to furnish a British fleet, in preference to a French fleet, as proposed by Talleyrand in his famous note, which fleet should act in concert with, and assist the movements of the Austrian forces.

That this proposal was *formally* acceded to by Austria, I have had no satisfactory proof; it is sufficient to know that the King of Naples was fully acquainted with this negociation, but not at that time of the part which Great Britain took in it. This knowledge led him to demand permission to pass eighty thousand men through Italy to attack France, and finally to adopt the measures which proved so fatal to him. It would have been happy for him if he had listened to the earnestly reiterated advice of his ministers both at Vienna and in England, who persisted in recommending him to remain in a defensive, though menacing attitude within his own frontiers; a line of policy in which the queen, who is possessed of the most brilliant talents, and of the deepest penetration, entirely concurred.

The same persons who were anxious to promote the war of Austria against King Joachim had recourse to various modes of exciting him to strike the first blow. I have myself read the dispatches to which he alludes in his letter to me*, wherein *those pretended* friends assure him that the Austrians were making every preparation to attack him, and advising him by all means to be before-hand with them, especially as he might be fully assured of the neutrality of England, whose interest it never could be to allow Austria the entire dominion in Italy.

These persuasions induced the king to attack the Austrians, at the very moment, as it afterwards turned out, that the apprehensions of his union with Napoleon, who had just returned to France from Elba, had determined the British cabinet to attend to the invocations of justice in his favour. Lord Castlereagh had written to the Duke of Wellington, who was at that time the plenipotentiary of the British court at Vienna, and informed him that in consequence of the re-appearance of Napoleon at the head of the French nation, the British ministers had thought it advisable to unite all the force they could collect, and had consequently come to a determination immediately to conclude a treaty of alliance with the King of Naples.—The duke was moreover enjoined to communicate this determination to the other powers assembled in

* See Appendix (G).

congress, in which they were to be invited by him to join.

Unfortunately the King of Naples could not foresee this unexpected change in his favour, and in an unlucky hour he made the attack on the Austrians, and drove them from position to position as far as the banks of the Po.—In vain had the Austrian army attempted with a superior force to defend the passage of the Panaro, they were overthrown by the Neapolitans in a sanguinary conflict and driven beyond Reggio.—The advanced guard of the centre of the Neapolitan army was already at Reggio, that of the right at Redina and Occhiobello; the left, commanded by General Pignatelli Strongoli, occupied Florence and extended its advanced posts as far as Pistoja. In this state of things the arrival of the king at Milan was confidently expected by the inhabitants, as well as by 40,000 disbanded Italians, who had shared the glory of the French armies in innumerable victories, and who most ardently desired to join the standard of independence under the King of Naples.

At this juncture, Colonel Dalrymple arrived at Bologna, King Joachim's head-quarters, and I was then informed, that he was commissioned by Lord William Bentinck, to request that the territory of his Britannic Majesty's ally, the King of Sardinia, might not be violated by the Neapolitan army. To this request, the king very readily agreed, being

still infatuated with the idea that England would not interfere in his quarrel with Austria. This ill-timed condescension unhappily became one of the principal causes of his ruin. He might easily have forced the passage of the Po at Piacenza, which was in a defenceless state, but in the attempt he would have infringed upon a small corner of the Piedmontese territory, instead of which he directed his principal efforts against Occhiobello, which he could not force. In addition to this mischance, the courier who should have brought from England the intelligence of the amicable change of British policy was taken prisoner by the Austrians and sent to Vienna, where the news of the discomfiture of the Austrian armies, and the before-mentioned instructions of Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Wellington, to conclude a treaty of alliance with Naples, arrived on one and the same day.

On King Joachim's first arrival at Bologna, the Austrians made several ineffectual overtures to effect an accommodation ; and if the courier from England had not been intercepted, there is no doubt but that all differences would have been arranged, or at any rate the king would have had full time to make an orderly retreat behind his own almost impregnable frontiers.

At this time the king was surprised at receiving a notification from Lord William Bentinck, that his instructions were to join the Austrians against him. An hesitation in his movements ensued, he

decided upon a retreat, which would have been most regular and effectual, if General Pignatelli Strongoli had not at this crisis most unexpectedly evacuated Florence, leaving the Roman road completely open to the Austrian General Nugent, who in consequence was much beforehand with the king, and rendered his homeward march most urgent and precipitate. I was very nearly made prisoner by this unaccountable evacuation. I entered Florence just after break of day with orders from the king for General Pignatelli, who unknown to me had evacuated the place two hours before, and I very unexpectedly found myself surrounded in the middle of the town by Austrian cavalry; I had, however, the good fortune to effect my escape without sustaining any injury.

The interesting letter written to me by King Joachim*, whilst in Corsica, best explains the causes which led to his defeat and the loss of his kingdom. False information, and an unconquerable daring spirit of defiance, roused by a sense of injustice, had again urged him to confide his fortunes to the sword.

On the king's approach to Naples with a small remnant of his army, ten thousand of the national guard, with General Macdonald, minister of war, at their head, marched forth to meet him. They greeted his return in the most loyal and affectionate manner, exhorting him still to hope for success in

* See Appendix (G).

the love and devotedness of his subjects, swearing that they were all ready to perish in defence of their king and country; but in consequence of the part England had taken against him, he declined making any further efforts, which would only tend to involve the brave and loyal in his own catastrophe.

He entered Naples unknown in the evening of the 19th May, accompanied by his nephew, who was colonel of the ninth regiment of Lancers, and four privates. He immediately proceeded to his palace, where he appeared before the queen pale and emaciated in the habit of a lancer; tenderly embracing her, he said, "All is lost, madam, but my "life; that I have not been able to lose."*

Having taken farewell of his children, he caused his hair, which he had hitherto worn in long ringlets to be cut short, and habited in a plain grey suit, accompanied by his nephew, the colonel, he proceeded on foot to the sea-shore, opposite to the Island of Nisida. He there embarked in a little boat, and proceeded to the neighbouring Island of

* During the retreat, the king was ever seen where the danger was greatest. Foremost in the ranks, he continually charged the Austrians in person. When his affairs grew desperate, it became evident that he sought for death in the field. At the head of a few of his cavalry, whom he constantly preceded, he often charged the enemy to their very cannon's mouth. How he escaped amidst so many dangers appears miraculous. He might well say, that "he had sought death, but "had not been able to find it."

Ischia. There he remained three days without being known, and on the fourth, as he was walking on the sea-shore on the southern side of the island in company with the colonel, consulting about the means of effecting their escape to France, they discovered a small vessel to the east in full sail approaching the spot where they were standing.

The king immediately hailed the vessel, and getting into a fishing-boat which was on the shore, ordered the crew to row towards it, and as soon as they were perceived a boat was sent from the vessel to meet them. The feelings of all parties may easily be imagined, when in one of the persons on board, the king recognized his attached and faithful servant, the Duke of Roccaromana,† to whom the vessel belonged, and who in company with the Marquis Giuliano, the king's aide-de-camp, had escaped from Naples, and was proceeding in this vessel in search of the king, under the greatest anxiety and apprehension, lest some accident might have befallen him, although previously to quitting the palace, the king had divided with the duke and marquis a considerable sum in gold, and acquainted them with his plan of going to Ischia, accompanied only by his nephew, and of embarking from thence to France.

The duke could not succeed in effecting his escape from Naples until three days after the depar-

† The duke was the king's master of the horse, *Gran Scudiere.*

ture of the king. The enemy's flag had been hoisted in Ischia, and it appeared highly improbable under all circumstances that the king could have remained there concealed for those three days. It was unsafe for the duke to attempt landing on the island, and yet there appeared no other means of ascertaining whether the king was there or had proceeded on his voyage. In this embarrassment it happened that the duke, who was most anxiously examining the shore of the island with a glass, perceived and recognized the king. The rest of their voyage proved most prosperous and expeditious. They landed at Cannes, the 27th or 28th of May.

I must here suspend the history of what further befel the king, in order to continue the recital of my own story.

After having so fortunately effected my escape from Florence, I laid aside my uniform and accoutrements, and proceeded in disguise to Genoa, where I had to deliver a dispatch from the king's minister of foreign affairs to Lord William Bentinck. I here saw his lordship on the 19th April, and delivered my dispatch to him, and at the same time assured him, that if on my arrival in London, where I was going with other dispatches, I should find that England had declared against the King of Naples, I should from that moment quit the Neapolitan service, and I begged him to bear testimony to my declaration and intention.

I left Genoa the same evening, (19th April) and arrived in London on the 28th. I immediately repaired with my dispatches to the Neapolitan charge d'affaires, who informed me that several days before my arrival, he had had an interview with Lord Castlereagh, who acquainted him that the British ministry had thought it incumbent on them to lend their aid to their ally the Emperor of Austria. I was, however, permitted to hope, that there still remained some prospect of accommodation, should the circumstances of the campaign be such as to induce Austria to resume negociations with the King of Naples.

I was at that time totally ignorant, that the Neapolitan army under the king had commenced its retreat, as I had left head-quarters at Bologna two days previous to that fatal movement. On the contrary, I participated in the general opinion, that the king would in a few days be in possession of Milan, where a veteran force anxiously awaited him, and that his opponents would certainly be disposed to renew their treaties. Under these circumstances, I considered it incumbent upon me as a last duty to procure a safe conveyance of the answers which I had received to my dispatches. I thought it not improbable that on my arrival at the army, I should find that hostilities had ceased, in which case I should have resumed my functions, otherwise I determined to deliver my dispatches, together with my resignation, and return immediately to England. I am

led to enter into these particulars, which trivial as they may appear, are still necessary for explaining my conduct at this crisis, which conduct has been described as inconsistent with my character as an Englishman.

I left England with an English friend, who proposed to accompany me to Italy, and we arrived together in Paris the beginning of May.

The reports contained in the French papers concerning the operations of the Austrian and Neapolitan armies in Italy, evidently appeared to me, who had a knowledge of the positions and localities, to be composed of the grossest falsehood; but I felt unwilling to proceed any further on my journey until I could acquire some authentic information concerning the real state of affairs. With this view I repeatedly applied to the Duke of Otranto, who from his supposed personal regard for the King of Naples, as well as in his capacity of minister of the French police, was the person most likely to possess the knowledge I so anxiously desired; but I could not succeed in obtaining any direct or positive information from him. He complained much of the imprudence and impolicy of the King of Naples, in having undertaken this campaign against the Austrians, entirely without the knowledge of Napoleon, and without any concert with him. He seemed unwilling to disclose all he knew, but earnestly advised me to delay my departure for a few days. I received the same advice from the Neapolitan

chargé d'affaires, who had left London, and was then at Paris on his way to Geneva.

Under these circumstances I remained at Paris from day to day, until I received intelligence of the king's having been forced to quit Italy, and take refuge in France in the manner I have already related.

Our journey to Italy being thus impeded, and neither my companion nor myself wishing to return so soon to England, we continued in Paris, which my friend was then visiting for the first time. It will be remembered that for some time, it was far from being a decided question whether the allies were unanimous in their opinions of the expediency or policy of their war against France. From their declarations, as well as from those of our own ministers in parliament, it was generally believed that the threatened hostility would at all events be directed only against the person of Napoleon. But how his cause could be separated from that of the French nation, was a point not easily to be determined. The patriotic enthusiasm which animated the French people, appeared to be a prognostic of the repulse and overthrow of those whom they termed their officious oppressors, or at least that no effort on their parts would be wanting to accomplish this object. The time for preparation was short, and the want of arms was particularly felt. General Suchet, who commanded in the south-west, was from this want constrained to forego the

services of twenty-six thousand of the multitude, who in the space of five days had flocked to his standard.

It was now reported, particularly amongst the English who yet remained in Paris, that at the approaching assembly of the *Champ de Mai* it was the intention of the emperor to abdicate the throne in favor of his son. It was naturally expected that such a measure would not fail to detach Austria from the coalition, which in consequence would be in a manner dissolved, particularly as the professed object of their union would have been obtained, while the chances of a successful issue of the war would have been greatly multiplied against them, if they deviated from their professions.

In this interesting and momentous state of things, there could be no impropriety in remaining at Paris; numbers of my countrymen of high rank and respectability still resided there. I thought it even my duty to remain, until I could ascertain whether it might not be in my power to render some service to the unfortunate King Joachim, to whom I felt myself attached by the strongest ties of duty and gratitude.

After the arrival of King Joachim at Cannes was made known at Paris, he was daily expected there; but being myself impatient of delay, and misled by false information, I undertook two fruitless journies, one to Fontainbleau, the other to Compeigne, in the hope of finding him. It was not long,

however, before I learnt that he had written to Fouché, desiring him to apprise Napoleon that it was his intention to proceed to Paris. Napoleon, by way of answer, demanded, "what treaty of peace "had been concluded between France and Naples "since 1814?" Fouché shortly after addressed a letter to King Joachim, which I have read, in which he informed him, that although it was necessary for him to remain where he was, yet in that situation he might be of essential service to his country, by animating the troops and inhabitants to the noble assertion of their rights, and to a vigorous resistance of the attempt *to force a government upon them.* This, however, was a branch of service in which the king could not possibly have effected much, as he had fallen into great disrepute with the French soldiery, for having declared war against France in 1814, to which measure they attributed all their subsequent disasters.

Some days prior to the commencement of hostilities in Flanders, I was informed by M. De Coussy, who had been private secretary to the King of Naples, but had then retired to Paris, that the king was on his way from Toulon to occupy a country house in the vicinity of Lyons; that he wished much to obtain permission to retire to England, and that he desired to confer with me on the subject, previously to my making the necessary application in his behalf. I had obtained my passport, and was just on the point of setting out for Lyons, when the

battle of Waterloo was fought. I thought it expedient to wait the ensuing events at Paris, where I might probably have an opportunity of serving the king more effectually than by joining him at Lyons; and it will be seen in the proper place that in this particular I had not formed an unfounded conjecture.

Immediately after the battle of Waterloo, Napoleon returned to Paris, and abdicated the throne in *favour of his son, who would have been accepted and proclaimed by the French people*, but for the opposition of two celebrated individuals.

On this abdication a commission of government, as it was called, was formed, consisting of Fouché, the president, Caulaincourt, Carnot, Quinette, and Grenier.

On the 26th of June, I believe, the Duke of Wellington at the head of his victorious army reached Compeigne. In the course of the following night a deputation of five persons was sent to him from Paris by the two chambers, to solicit an armistice for a few days. The avowed purpose of this mission was to afford time for the return of another deputation, which had been dispatched to the allied sovereigns, to assert the right of the French people to choose their own government, in conformity to the declaration of the allies, *that they warred against the person of Napoleon only, and not against the French people, or to force upon them any particular government.*

The Chamber of Deputies, the majority of the commissioners of government, and the army, now in great strength in Paris, were *determined* to resist *any attempt to force the Bourbons upon them;* while the avowed opinion of Fouché and Caulaincourt was, that such a determination could only lead to the destruction of Paris, and the loss of thousands of lives. They, therefore, sought the means of opening a communication with the Duke of Wellington, in which they might impart to him their views, and avert the calamity which they apprehended from the projects of the other parties. In the expediency of procuring an armistice for a few days, *all* parties concurred; and Fouché, who had become acquainted with me in my interviews with him respecting King Joachim, solicited me to undertake the task of carrying on a communication between him and the Duke of Wellington. It was sufficient for me to know that the service in which I was to be engaged, had for its object the prevention of a sanguinary conflict, which an attempt to take Paris by force would have occasioned, and I therefore consented to be the bearer of Fouché's message to the duke.

My feelings as an Englishman entirely influenced my conduct in this instance. I exulted in the success of our army, and in the military glory which the English name had acquired; and it appeared to me, that whatever might tend to prevent the further

effusion of blood, must be highly acceptable to my country; and to be selected as an instrument by which so humane and desirable an object might be accomplished, was highly gratifying to my mind, and I should not have thought myself at liberty to refuse to engage in it, from any opinion I might entertain of the private views of the persons by whom I should be employed. Impressed with these sentiments, I left Paris at midnight. I proceeded to the Barriere de la Villette, where I found some difficulty in getting my carriage over the different entrenchments and abbattis, but still more from the French officers, who evinced the greatest reluctance in permitting me to pass, observing that I was probably a person sent out to treat with the enemy, and to betray them; but on my assuring them that the purport of my mission was entirely analogous to their views and interests, I was suffered to proceed without a trumpet. Before I had got beyond the French lines, I was again stopped by a piquet of cuirassiers, who refused to let me pass without an order from the officer commanding the inner posts; and while I was asserting my right to proceed, a cuirassier fortunately happened to hold a light to my face, and very respectfully accosted me with the salutation of "*bon voyage, Major,*" his comrades immediately asked him who I was, he answered, "it's "the major of the 9th Hussars," for whom I suppose he had mistaken me. This was instantly believed;

and greeted by the salutations and good wishes of the whole troop, I was allowed to continue my journey.

The Prussian advanced posts were at less than two miles distant, and I was consequently very soon stopped by a Prussian lancer, who upon my telling him that I was an English officer, proceeding with dispatches to the Duke of Wellington, immediately accompanied me to the next post. Here I learnt with great pleasure, that this advanced guard of cavalry was commanded by Prince William of Prussia, whose first aide-de-camp, Baron Rochow, was my particular friend.

I soon arrived at the spot where Prince William and his staff were sleeping, in a field before a large fire, under some trees. I enquired for my friend Baron Rochow. His name was called, and I immediately had the pleasure of seeing him. After a few urgent questions, he proposed to introduce me to Prince William, who by this time had raised himself upon his mattrass. The Prince received me with the greatest politeness, and directed that I should be presented with refreshments. On my taking leave he ordered me to be furnished with an escort to General Baron Bulow. I arrived at this general's quarters at break of day, and was soon after introduced to him. While I was at breakfast with him, he told me that he wished me to see Prince Blucher on my way to the Duke of Wellington; and added that he would send his aide-de-camp with me. He

then ordered a servant to call his aid-de-camp, Baron Echardstein, to whom I was also particularly known.*

On our arrival at Prince Blucher's, my companion, Baron Echardstein, informed him that I was going on a mission from the French government to the Duke of Wellington: this did not seem to please the Prince, who immediately retired to rest, and left me to converse with his chef d'état major. This gentleman, whose name I believe was Gneisenau, was very indignant on being informed of the desire of the French to treat with the Duke of Wellington, and he completely lost his temper, when he observed the coolness with which I listened to his indiscreet and authoritative language. He desired to know the nature of my mission to the Duke, I remained silent. He then exclaimed with the greatest violence and agitation: "What, nobody but the "Duke of Wellington? always the Duke of Welling-"ton? Have they forgot that there is a Prince "Blucher? That there is a Prussian army? They "shall feel that there is a Prussian army! They "have felt it! They shall again smart under "it, &c." "But how comes it," added he with the

* During a stay of seven months, which I made at Rome in 1812, I formed a close intimacy and friendship with two Prussian noblemen, Baron Rochow of Potsdam, and Baron Echardstein. We lived together, and joined in all our pursuits and recreations. The former had been adjutant to the famous Schill, and was one of the few who cut their way through the French and Danish troops at Stralsund, where Schill perished.

greatest violence, "how comes it, that you, who "say you are an Englishman, should dare to remain "in Paris, after the return of Buonaparte?" I told him, "that like numbers of my countrymen, I had "to consult only my own pleasure in that particu- "lar." On this he exclaimed, "I am very much "surprised, Sir, at what you say: were I the Duke of "Wellington, I would make an example of you all!"

On my quitting this choleric soldier, my friend Echardstein thought it necessary to apologise to me for the indelicate behaviour of his countryman. I proceeded on my journey, and soon met numerous columns of English cavalry, and found the five French deputies waiting for the duke's arrival, at a village called Fresnoy. I thought it expedient to endeavour to see the duke before the deputies, and therefore passed them on the road. I shortly after met the duke, and imparted to him the purport of my mission, and delivered to him also a sealed dispatch from Fouché, upon which he desired me to accompany him to the village where the deputies were. He asked me if I was acquainted with the nature of the mission. I told him I knew that one part of it, at least, was to request an armistice of some days, until news could arrive from other deputies, who had been sent to treat with the united sovereigns.

On the duke's arrival at the village of Fresnoy, he conferred with the deputies for five hours. They adduced in support of their mission, the solemn declaration of the British ministers, "that it was not

" the intention of the allies to force the Bourbons, " or any other government on the French people; " that they had made war against Napoleon only, " and not against the nation, &c." Their mission failed. They received for answer, that the only thing left for the chambers to do, was to proclaim Louis 18th.

The duke then proceeded to Plessis, the head-quarters for that day. The deputies remained behind. I was desired by the duke to accompany him to Plessis, where I dined with him, and during dinner conversed with him on the object I had to propose, respecting an armistice. Before I took my leave of the duke, I requested that he would give me some answer to the remonstrances of the commission of government, which stated, " *that as the allies had* " *declared their hostility to be directed against the* " *person of Napoleon only, it would be but just to* " *await the result of the mission to the sovereigns,* " *before his grace undertook to replace Louis 18th* " *on the throne.*" The duke, in the presence of Lord March, Colonels Hervey, Freemantle, Abercromby, and several other officers, replied: " I can give no " other answer, than that which you know *I have* " *just given* to the deputies. " *Tell them (the* " *commission of government) that they had better* " *immediately proclaim the King (Louis 18th.)* " *I cannot treat till then, nor upon any other con-* " *dition. Their king is here at hand; let them* " *send their submission to him.*"

The duke was at this time in constant communication with King Louis and Talleyrand, who were together in the rear of the army, and I saw one of the messengers of Louis XVIII. at the duke's head-quarters.—I returned to Paris the next morning, Davoust had taken the chief command of the French army, and had fixed his head-quarters at the Barriere de la Villette, by which I entered Paris. On my being introduced to him, he demanded to know the object of my mission to the enemy, and said, that as he then held the supreme command, I must communicate to him any dispatches of which I might be the bearer. I answered him, that I had no written message; that my mission had been nearly similar to that of the deputies; that I had been sent out by the commission, and therefore thought it my duty to account with its members only for my proceedings. I could, however, inform him of the declaration, which in common with the deputies, I had received from the Duke of Wellington. Hereupon I reported to him the duke's *sine qua non*. He immediately declared that my intelligence was incredible, and expressed his disbelief of it in the strongest terms. Then with the greatest emotion, and with uplifted hands and eyes, *he called heaven to witness the perfidy and arrogant injustice of the English ministry, and of the allies.* "*The Duke of Wel-*
"*lington,*" *said he,* "*surely could never dare to*
"*make a declaration so directly contrary to the*
"*avowed, and solemnly protested intentions of the*

" *British ministry, and of the other allies. Have* " *not they sworn that they would not impose a* " *sovereign on the French people? However, they* " *will find to their cost, that we are unanimous in* " *our resolution. Napoleon can no longer be the* " *pretext for their hostilities. We will all perish* " *rather than submit to the hateful yoke that Lord* " *Castlereagh would impose upon us!* ——— *is* " *a traitor! he was about to compromise with the* " *enemy—I have taken his command from him—* " *He shall never again command a corporal's* " *guard—We are an independent nation—England* " *should be the last power to tyrannise over us in* " *our choice of government.*" He then desired me to proceed to lay before the commission at the Thuilleries, the result of my mission, adding, " they " know very well that I have now with me more " than 100,000 men, with 500 pieces of cannon, and " 25,000 cavalry."

I proceeded to the palace of the Thuilleries, where I was introduced to the commission. Carnot immediately asked what my errand to the enemy had been. Fouche quickly answered, that he had sent me. Quinette and Grenier looked as if they were not satisfied with this answer. Carnot continued to address me, and asked whether I had seen the deputies at the Duke of Wellington's head-quarters? I answered in the affirmative, and that I could give him an account of the result of their mission: upon this they became attentive, and heard my account

with dismay and indignation. Carnot expressed the same sentiments that Davoust had recently done, and added, rather roughly, that he could by no means give credit to my account, either as to the Duke of Wellington's *sine qua non*, or as to the force of the enemy in the vicinity of Paris ; he further said, with a sneer, " we shall have, I hope, a " very different account on the return of the de- " puties." Fouché defended me, and reproved him for so uncivilly questioning my veracity, and assured him that he might put implicit confidence in me. Carnot and Grenier then took me to a topographical map, and questioned me as to the movements of the Duke of Wellington. I answered their interrogatories to the extent to which I thought myself warranted; and it appeared, that I informed them of nothing with which they were not already acquainted. Carnot then, in a polite manner, told me I might retire.

It would appear that in consequence of having learned from me the nature of the communication which the deputies would have to make to the chambers, and dreading its discouraging effects on the members, and on the people at large, their return to Paris had been prevented. Some private orders seem to have been given to that effect, for on the same day that I entered Paris by the Barriere de la Villette, the deputies approached that post, preceded by Colonel Latour Maubourg, who was attached to their mission, when the French out-posts

fired, killed the Prussian trumpeter's horse, and a ball grazed the epaulette of the colonel. The deputies turned back, and attempted to enter by the Barriere de St. Dennis, but were refused. They there received fresh instructions to treat, and it was so managed that they did not return to Paris till after the capitulation.

In the mean time Fouché and his coadjutors, who opposed the views of the other parties, were in great personal danger. The three other members of the commission, more than suspected them of duplicity and treachery; and in consequence impeached them before the Chamber of Deputies. The Duke of Wellington being acquainted with these proceedings, sent a message to the members of the commission, as I was informed, assuring them that if any harm befell Fouché or Caulincourt, he would infallibly *hang up the other three on his arrival in Paris.*

It was proposed in the Chamber of Deputies, that its members should quit Paris with the army, and rally round them all those who would oppose the enemy and the Bourbons. But this measure Fouché was particularly anxious to thwart, whilst Davoust, feeling himself confident in the strength of his army, insisted on attacking Blucher and the Duke of Wellington before other reinforcements should arrive; but as I understood at the time, Fouché succeeded in somewhat softening and in giving a new direction to the policy of Carnot; and it is certain that he managed to gain over Davoust by

urging the force of the enemy, and the dreadful consequences that would ensue if Paris should be taken by assault. He pleaded the reliance which might be placed *on the faith of the English* (for with the Prussians the French would not have treated on any terms). He therefore recommended Davoust to evacuate Paris, and not to listen to the desperate suggestions of the chambers, observing, that so long as his army remained entire, he might obtain favorable terms for all parties.

The day before the capitulation of Paris, (2d July) I repaired to the British camp with the following memorandum, as my instructions from Fouché to the Duke of Wellington.

" The army opposes, because uneasy—assure it,
" it will even become devoted.

" The chambers are counter for the same reason.
" *Assure every body you will have every body.*

" The army sent away, the chambers will agree,
" on according them the guarantee as added to the
" charter and promised by the king. In order to
" be well understood, it is necessary to explain ;
" therefore not to enter Paris before three days, and
" in the mean time every thing may be arranged.

" The chambers will be gained, will believe in
" their independence, and will agree to every thing.
" Persuasion, not force, must be used with the
" chambers."*

* This is a *literal* translation, which will account for any inaccuracy which may strike the English reader.

On my arrival at the British advanced posts, which, owing to the obstructions I met with from the French, I was not able to effect till early in the morning of the 3d of July, I was informed that the most positive orders had been given by the duke, not to allow any messenger to pass from Paris without his special permission. I was therefore detained at the English advanced post of guards, commanded by Lord Saltown. I dined with the officers of the advanced piquet, among whom, I well remember Captain Fairfield, of the foot guards. These gentlemen informed me, that the Duke of Wellington was at Gonnesse, with Sir C. Stuart, Pozzi di Borgo, and Talleyrand. I wrote a letter to the duke, which was forwarded by Lord Saltown. In my letter, I entered into a detail of the line of conduct recommended by Fouché, and contained in the foregoing memorandum. On the receipt of my dispatch, the duke immediately proceeded to St. Cloud, General Blucher's head-quarters; there the capitulation of Paris was signed. The duke returned to Gonnesse, and dispatched Lord March to bring me to him; I arrived there very early on the morning of the 4th, and found Sir Charles Stuart, *Talleyrand*, and Pozzo di Borgo; they assembled in council, and my presence was required by the duke. *Talleyrand* then desired me to repeat my message, and when I got to the article respecting the removal of the French army from Paris, and quieting all fears, *Talleyrand* observed to me, that

this was already settled, and turning to the Duke of Wellington, requested him to read to me *the capitulation that they had just concluded.* On my urging the adoption of the line of conduct which Fouché recommended towards the Chambers, the Duke of Wellington proceeded to give me his sentiments in writing, which were as follow :

" Je pense, que les alliés ayant declaré le govern-
" ment de Napoleon une usurpation et non legitime,
" toute autorité qui emané de lui, doit être re-
" gardée comme nulle et d'aucun pouvoir. Ainsi
" ce qui reste à faire aux Chambres et à la commis-
" sion, est, de donner de suite leur démission et de
" déclarer, qu'ils n'ont pris sur eux les responsa-
" bilités du gouvernment, que pour assurer la tran-
" quillité publique, et l'integrité du royaume de
" S. M. Louis XVIII.*"

Talleyrand, Sir Charles Stuart, and Pozzo di Borgo, each took a copy of this document, and each by way of memorandum, put their names and mine

* " I am of opinion that the allies having declared the govern-
" ment of Napoleon an usurpation and not legitimate, all au-
" thority which emanates from it, ought to be considered as
" null and of no effect: therefore all that remains for the
" chambers and the commission to do, is immediately to give in
" their resignation, and to declare that they took upon them-
" selves the responsibility of government, with the sole view of
" insuring the public tranquillity, and the integrity of the
" kingdom of H. M. Louis XVIII."

to the paper, by way of recording, as I suppose, the parties present at the discussion.

Talleyrand moreover dictated to me the following memorandum :

" Le Roi accordera toute l'ancienne charte, y com-
" pris l'abolition de la confiscation ; de plus, *le non*
" *renouvellement de la loi de l'année derniere sur la*
" *liberté de la presse*—l'appelle immediate des col-
" leges electeraux pour la formation d'une nouvelle
" chambre—l'unité du ministére—l'initiatif recipro-
" que des loix, par message du coté du roi, et par pro-
" position de la part des chambres—l'hérédité de la
" Chambre des Pairs." Talleyrand added, " *vous pou-*
" *vez* DE NOTRE PART *leur recommander la bonne*
" *foi, et la* CONFIANCE LA PLUS ILLIMITÉE* :" and further desired me to procure information concerning the Buonaparte family. He then pointed out, and as it were, introduced to me, the persons of the plenipotentiaries present, saying, " that is Sir
" Charles Stuart, H. B. Majesty's ambassador ; that

* The King will grant all the former *charter*, including the abolition of confiscations ; besides *the non-renewal of the law of last year concerning the liberty of the press ;* the immediate assembly of the electoral colleges for the formation of a new Chamber of Deputies ; the unity of the ministry—reciprocity in the faculty of proposing laws, on the part of the king by message, and by proposition on that of the chambers. The Chamber of Peers is hereditary. Talleyrand added, you may *in our names*, recommend to them, sincerity, and *the most unlimited confidence.*

" is Count Pozzo di Borgo, ambassador of H. " I. M. the Emperor of Russia, and *I am Prince* " *Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs for His* " *Majesty Louis XVIII.*" The Duke of Wellington had already mentioned their names to me on our first sitting down. His grace now desired me to write all their names under the memorandum which had been dictated to me by Talleyrand, and he further desired me to add to my memorandum—

" That I might be sent back to him immediately " with further instructions and information. I was " to desire Fouché to be very explicit and sincere, " particularly with him, the Duke of Wellington, " who on his part, put the most implicit confidence " in him (Fouché). The duke wished to know " whether Fouché desired support or assistance of " any kind, or in any manner, if he did he should " immediately have it."

I forthwith mounted my horse and returned to Paris; Lord March was appointed by the duke to accompany me. On our arrival at the Barriere de la Villette, we found the French soldiery perfectly frantic, and vociferating " Vive l'Empereur!" " A bas les Anglais!" " A bas les Burbons!" They were on the point of firing at the Belgian trumpeter who preceded us; it was with the greatest difficulty that some French hussars, under whose escort we had approached the barriers, could prevent the soldiers from firing at Lord March as he was riding off. They were also obliged to exert themselves strenu-

ously in my defence, as many of the infantry pointed their muskets at me, vociferating Vive L'Empereur! Vive Napoleon! We are betrayed! We have been sold! We will fight to the last drop of our blood! Down with the Bourbons! Let us kill this traitor! He has assisted in selling us! We have seen him pass before! The hussars took me between them, some of the infantry also assisted in parrying off the blows aimed at me, and turning aside the muzzles of the muskets. Thus after great peril, I was fortunate enough to gain the quarters of a general officer, with only a sabre cut on my left leg. The general dispersed the men, and gave me a strong escort to conduct me to the Thuilleries.

In consequence of my communicating the documents and assurances I had received from Talleyrand and the Duke of Wellington, the commission of government abdicated its powers that evening; but the Chambers still refused to comply. They continued their sittings, which they declared should be permanent, till the morning of the 6th, when the doors of the Chamber were closed, and guarded by a party of the national guards.

On this above one hundred and fifty of the deputies proceeded to the house of M. Lanjuinais, their president, and there framed a solemn protest against the arbitrary and illegal violence which had been used toward them, *in violation of the most solemn declarations.*

I have now no doubt that some extraordinary

scheme had been contrived to seduce Napoleon into the measure of abdicating the throne in favour of his son. His resources were at that moment immense. The regular army in Paris alone, amounted to more than 80,000 men, every individual of which was animated with the most enthusiastic ardour. The national guard, above 30,000 strong, displayed the firmest resolution to obey the directions of the constituted authorities; numerous volunteers of all classes had taken up arms in the defence of their country. In the departments, the spirit of opposition to the invaders was still greater, particularly in the north, west, and east: in fine, Napoleon, who could not possibly be ignorant of the state of his resources, would never, I am convinced, have sheathed his sword, and abdicated the crown *even in favour of his son*, had he not been most confidently assured of the validity of the measure, by its being approved and supported by the French senate and people, and by, at least, *some part* of the coalition.

What were the precise representations by which Napoleon was influenced to take this step, is perhaps known only to its contrivers, and their victim. Some future historian may probably unfold this mystery. As far as regards the share I had in the negociations between the provisional government, the allied armies and Talleyrand, as minister of Louis XVIII., I feel it due to myself to declare that *I had no suspicion of any deception or intended breach of engagements.* I was requested to open a

communication between Fouché and the Duke of Wellington, for the avowed purpose of negociating an armistice, as a preliminary measure to the capitulation of Paris; and it was obvious that such a negociation might save the lives of thousands and thousands of my countrymen.

On my first interview with the Duke of Wellington, I informed him that I had been King Joachim's aide-de-camp, and I then solicited the favour of his interest to obtain permission for the king to retire to England. The duke promised me his support, but added, that he wished King Joachim himself to write to him. I communicated this wish to the king, who, in consequence, sent me a letter addressed to the duke; it was written with much feeling and dignity, but it contained a phrase which M. De Coussy thought somewhat exceptionable. I differed from him in this opinion, but submitted to his judgment, and the letter was not presented to the duke. This seems, however, to have been of no importance, as it did not appear that after the duke's arrival at Paris he ever recollected the desire he had expressed. About the 12th of July, I addressed a note to Lord Castlereagh, through the medium of Sir Charles Stuart, in which in the name of King Joachim I requested an asylum for him in Great Britain. I received for answer, that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent must be consulted before His Majesty's ministers could assent to

my request. A short time after I received an official note signed by Sir Charles Stuart, informing me that he was directed by Lord Castlereagh to inform me, that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent did not think fit, " pour le " moment et par rapport aux circumstances du " jour,"* to grant Marshal Murat's request.

I immediately wrote to King Joachim, through the medium of M. De Coussy, informing him of this refusal, and I sent him a copy of my correspondence with Lord Castlereagh. I availed myself of the same opportunity to enclose him the protest of a bill which I had drawn on Naples, in reimbursement of certain sums I had advanced in London in the purchase of several articles for the Queen of Naples. My letter was intercepted, and I was thrown into prison, and detained there a fortnight for no other crime than that of an avowed and harmless interference in behalf of my unfortunate benefactor, which in the eyes of M. De Cazes, then prefect of the police of Paris, was sufficient to warrant him in depriving me of my liberty. Immediately on my arrest I addressed a letter to Fouché, who was then minister of the police, who in reply, informed me through his secretary, that he would lose no time in procuring my release.

Notwithstanding the reiterated reclamations of

* For the moment, and with reference to existing circumstances.

Sir Charles Stuart, and the positive orders of the minister of police for my being set at liberty,† the prefect contrived still to keep me in confinement, by multiplying as much as possible his inquisitorial interrogatories, in which the agents of the French police, according to their general custom, criticise and discuss the propriety of every action of the prisoner's life from the remotest period. On my release the minister Fouché begged me to forget the ungrateful and unkind usage I had sustained, casting all the blame of it on De Cazes, the prefect of police, and Mr. Justus Grünner, who was at the head of the Prussian police.

Shortly after my release, the Marquis Guiliano, aide-de-camp to King Joachim, arrived at Paris from Toulon, and informed me that the king wished to quit the south of France, which had become the theatre of terror and bloodshed; that he was desirous of avoiding the journey by land, in which he might have shared the fate of Marshal Brun, who just before had been massacred at Avignon; and that he had therefore resolved to repair incognito to Havre de Grace, and there to claim the protection of England and of the allies; that for this purpose he had freighted a vessel at Toulon; that the Duke of Roccaromana, and Colonel Bonafoux, together with all King Joachim's baggage and at-

† Prince William of Prussia was so good as to send his first aide-de-camp to the minister, and to the prefect of police, to remonstrate on my behalf.

tendants, had already embarked when the Marquis Guiliano left Toulon, and that the king was to have gone on board that evening for the purpose of proceeding on his voyage. In consequence of this information, and knowing that the fortress of Gaeta had not yet surrendered to the Austrians, I waited on the Duke of Wellington, and reminded him of his promise to intercede for King Joachim. I told him that I knew where the king was, and that if either England or Austria would grant him an asylum, I would pledge myself that he would immediately send orders to the governor of Gaeta to surrender, and that perhaps he might be induced even to abdicate his pretensions to the throne of Naples. The Duke of Wellington engaged to negotiate for me on these terms with Prince Metternich and Lord Castlereagh, and in a conversation I had a few days after with the duke on the subject, he observed that I had no longer any ground for negotiation, news having arrived that Gaeta was in possession of the Austrians. I still, however, urged him to interest himself in behalf of the king. He promised he would, and shortly afterwards informed me that the measure had been agreed upon *in the council of ministers, (at which Talleyrand attended,)* and that Prince Metternich wished to see me on the subject. I waited on the prince, and he presented me with the following document, by which I was empowered to propose an asylum to King Joachim in the name of the Emperor of Austria.

"Mr. Macirone is authorised by these presents to

"inform King Joachim, that his Majesty the Emperor "of Austria will grant him an asylum in his states on "the following conditions:

"1. The King will take the name of a private "person: the Queen having adopted that of Countess "of Lipona, the same is also proposed to the King.

"2. The King shall be free to chuse for his resi- "dence, a town either in Bohemia, Moravia, or Upper "Austria: and should he be desirous of fixing him- "self in a country residence in any of these provinces, "his wishes will not meet with opposition.

"3. The King will engage his word to his Impe- "rial and Royal Majesty, that he will not quit the "Austrian states, without the express consent of his "said Imperial Majesty; and that he will live in the "style of a private individual of distinction, but sub- "ject, however, to the laws in force in the above states.

"In virtue of which, and that it may have the "proper effect, the undersigned has been commanded "by the Emperor, to sign the present declaration.

"Given at Paris, this 1st of September, 1815.*

(Signed) "THE PRINCE METTERNICH."

I was on the point of setting out for Havre de Grace to await the King's landing, when Fouché received a letter from him, dated "Du fond de ma "tenebreuse retraite, 22d Aout."†

Indeed this letter evidently bore the appearance

* For the French original, see Appendix (E.)

† "From the bottom of my dark abode," 22d of August.

having been written in the dark, it was scarcely legible. He began by informing Fouché that the ship in which he had intended to sail to Havre, had by some accident been obliged to depart without him, carrying away his attendants, his money, and his clothes, and that he was left on shore at Toulon without even a change of linen. He complained of not having received any answer to his former letters, in which he had constantly solicited the decision of the allies, as to his future destination, and he inveighed bitterly against the conduct of Talleyrand towards him. He lamented the fate of M. De Coussy and of myself, whom he supposed to be still in prison, having heard of my first arrest. He acquainted Fouché with all the persecutions and dangers he had experienced since the sailing of his vessel, and that to avoid certain destruction from the poignards of the numerous assassins who were day and night in pursuit of him, he was under the necessity of taking refuge in Corsica, for which place he was then on the point of embarking in a little open boat. He entreated Fouché to exert his utmost influence with the allies to induce them to dispatch without loss of time, some person empowered to receive his submission to their decision respecting him, which he said he would quietly await in Corsica.

On the reception of this letter, I was immediately furnished by the minister of police with a special passport as envoy of the allied powers to Corsica. I consulted Sir Charles Stuart as well as the Duke

of Wellington as to the safety and propriety of my mission. Sir Charles told me that the passport with which I was furnished, was perfectly adequate to my purpose, that he would of course endorse it, but that as my journey would not be extended beyond the French territory a particular passport from him was useless. The Duke of Wellington expressed himself to the same effect, observing only, that if there had been any English troops in Corsica, or in the south of France, his signature would be of use to me; but as the case stood he thought it would be superfluous.

Having learnt from King Joachim's letter to Fouché, that he was left without necessaries or attendants, I thought it my duty to provide him if possible with both, that his journey from Corsica to Austria might be rendered as comfortable as possible. I discovered that two of his former valets de chambre, whose wives still remained in the service of the queen, were at Paris. They were engaged to repair to the king, and I consulted with *the French minister of police* as to the best means of enabling these men to reach the king, and it was determined they should go with me as my servants. The French minister thought this precaution necessary to ensure their safety, as every post brought some disgusting account of excesses and assassinations committed in the south of France.

Previous to my leaving Paris, I was further provided by Prince Metternich with a letter to Count

Stahremberg, commander in chief of the Austrian army in the south of France, in which the count was apprized of the dispositions of the Emperor of Austria with regard to King Joachim, and the nature of my mission to Corsica, at the same time he was ordered to provide an Austrian field officer to escort King Joachim on his journey, if it should be required.

It occurred to me that in all probability the king would adopt the plan of proceeding by sea to Trieste; I therefore requested Prince Metternich to provide me with a passport for him under the name of Count Lipona, proceeding to Trieste with a suite of six persons; the prince immediately complied with this request.

This passport was signed by himself, Sir Charles Stuart, and Prince Schwartzenberg, and the Austrian great seal of office was affixed to it; Prince Metternich likewise took the precaution of writing officially to the governor of Trieste, apprizing him of the probable speedy arrival of King Joachim in that port.

Having now made every necessary preparation for my departure, and having neglected no precaution to ensure the success of my endeavours to serve my patron and benefactor, I began already to anticipate the delight and consolation of having rescued him from the unhappy situation in which he was placed, and of restoring him to his afflicted consort and unprotected children.

I left Paris on the 10th of September, taking with me the two valets de chambre, as well as the linen and clothes which had been provided for the use of King Joachim. I travelled day and night without intermission till the evening of the 14th. When I arrived at Toulon, I there learnt, that as soon as the news of the restoration of the King of France was made known at Toulon, King Joachim, who resided in the most private manner in a small country house in the neighbourhood, addressed a letter to the magistrates of the department, assuring them that he would be the last person to disturb the public tranquillity, either by word or action, that he only requested the favor of being permitted to remain unmolested where he then was, until the decision of the allies with regard to his person should be known. At the same time he enclosed them a letter addressed to the King of France, in which he invoked the generosity and magnanimity of a successful enemy. He addressed another letter to Fouché, wherein he desired him to obtain for him some guarantee from the allies, and to send a person with proper authority to receive his submission. This he desired Fouché to do, and added, "provided "you may be allowed to serve me in my mis- "fortunes without your humanity being construed "into treason against your new lord and master."

The magistrates of Toulon had no cause to doubt the sincerity of King Joachim's professions; particularly as some time in May, 1815, previous to

the battle of Waterloo, he had given the most unequivocal proofs of his pacific intentions, and at a time when the inhabitants of Marseilles, about the period of Lord Exmouth's arrival, hoisted the white flag, massacred the old invalid Mamalukes, and attacked the garrison under General Bonnet.—The numerous garrison of Toulon, together with all the neighbouring troops, most earnestly solicited and even attempted to compel King Joachim to put himself at their head for the purpose of marching against Marseilles. — He peremptorily refused to comply, alleging that he was " a mere fugitive, " who only demanded the rites of hospitality—a " stranger to the political occurrences of the country, " in which he had no kind of authority to interfere." This is an incontrovertible fact, the proofs of which are still in existence, the circumstance having given rise to an official report from General Partheneau to the minister of war.

For the honour of humanity and of royalty, let us hope that the letter addressed to King Louis never reached its destination.

In order as much as possible to keep the events in their regular succession, I will now briefly relate in what manner King Joachim was forced to quit the retreat he had chosen, and how he succeeded in making his escape to Corsica.—My readers may implicitly rely on the authenticity of these particulars. I collected them at different times from all the parties concerned. Moreover, the accounts

I received from the various constituted authorities at Toulon, both previously and subsequently to my voyage to Corsica, agree in every respect with the accounts I received while in Corsica from the king himself, who was so good as to repeat to me the whole history of these occurrences.

I have already given a short account of the manner in which, after the dispersion of his army, King Joachim effected his escape from Naples and landed at Cannes in the department of the Var; I have also mentioned the circumstance of his having been refused by Napoleon the liberty of proceeding to Paris; for which reason he determined to await at Toulon the result of the application which he wished me to make in his behalf to the British government, for permission to take refuge in England. His pecuniary resources were inconsiderable; I do not remember what quantity of gold he had with him on quitting Naples, I believe about four thousand Napoleons. He had, however, two epaulets and a hat-loop set with diamonds, which in the hurry of his departure from his palace, were the only things of value he could conveniently take —these articles might together be worth about ten thousand pounds sterling. The gold he divided with the Duke of Roccaromana and the other persons who were following his fortunes.

Soon after the restoration of Louis to the throne of France, the situation of King Joachim began to be extremely critical. It is true no orders were ever

publicly issued against him; but the assassins of Marshal Brun, and of the Protestants at Nismes, either from the dictates of their own *loyalty*, or in consequence of secret instructions, immediately set about their murderous machinations, and left no artifice untried to get King Joachim into their power. He soon found it necessary to quit the house which he had so quietly occupied for more than six weeks. He separated from his attendants, and retired to a secret retreat, whilst they were instructed to report that he had succeeded in embarking on board a vessel he had hired, and had taken refuge in Tunis. His persecutors were by no means the dupes of this stratagem: they redoubled their activity and vigilance, but hitherto, their malice had been happily counteracted by the humane exertions of his generous and noble-minded preservers.

In this state of things, the Marquis de Riviere had recourse to artifice. He wrote a letter to King Joachim, which he commissioned M. Joliclerc, special commissary of police at Toulon, to deliver. In this letter he invited King Joachim, in the mildest terms, to surrender himself, urging in favour of the act the humanity and good faith of His Majesty the King of France, as well as of Lord Exmouth, who, as King Joachim informed me, joined the Marquis in that summons.

From the well established and unsullied character of M. Joliclerc, for integrity and honour, he had not much difficulty in inducing the persons who he

suspected of being privy to King Joachim's concealment, to procure him an interview. As might naturally be expected, King Joachim declined confiding his person to the care of the Marquis de Riviere and Lord Exmouth, since they had no guarantee to offer him, no visible authority or instructions from the allied powers. What were they to do with him? How were they to dispose of him? Lord Exmouth could not so soon have forgotten that a very short time previous to this proposal he had refused King Joachim's request to be permitted to take refuge on board his lordship's fleet, which was then cruising off that coast. Lord Exmouth then refused to receive him on any other terms than as a prisoner, to be sent to England. King Joachim, on the other hand, requested that he might be received *conditionally*, to be disposed of according to the future decision of the allied powers, if on his arrival in England, he should be refused an asylum there on terms of which he should approve. How then happened it, that Lord Exmouth, who had refused this application, should now join the Marquis de Riviere in these overtures for the king's surrender? Perhaps he had received instructions and authority from the allies? Then why were they not produced? It was the decision of the allies, that King Joachim wished most ardently to receive, and for that purpose he had repeatedly written to Paris. The Marquis de Riviere now desired M. Joliclerc to seize the person of King Joachim, alleging that he

could no longer avail himself of the plea of being ignorant of his retreat. But the request, though made in the most peremptory and authoritative tone, had no effect upon the conduct of this upright man. He had discovered the place of the king's concealment, on the faith of being commissioned to treat with him, and he refused to become an instrument of treachery. He preserved his honour, *but lost his place.*

At this critical period King Joachim thought it highly necessary to attempt to quit a land of persecution and bigotry, although the step might be attended with the greatest personal danger. His desire was to proceed to Paris incognito, and there to throw himself on the protection of the allies, but the journey by land seemed fraught with danger. The fanatic demagogues *à bonnet blanc* of the Bouches du Rhone, were "roving about like roaring lions, "seeking whom they might devour." Marshal Brun had been recognised and murdered at Avignon, and it was very possible that King Joachim might share the same fate. These considerations made him determine to go by sea to Havre-de-Grace, notwithstanding the length of the voyage. The Duke of Roccaromana hired a vessel for that purpose, the day was fixed for their departure, and on the 2d of August, the duke and Colonel Bonafaux embarked with two servants and all the king's property and clothes.*

* The Marquis Guiliano, aid-de-camp to the king, proceeded

It was agreed that when they were on board, and the vessel was ready to sail, they should send a boat to a remote part of the Bay of Toulon, where King Joachim would be in readiness to embark. At this very important crisis some unhappy mistake occasioned the boat to repair to a wrong place. After a fruitless search and much delay, the person charged with the direction of the enterprize, returned to the vessel, in the utmost consternation at not finding the king, to obtain fresh instructions, as well as the assistance of some one who might be better acquainted with the coast.—A considerable loss of time ensued; and while they were still in suspense and undecided how to act, or where to renew their search, to their utter dismay, a numerous party of the king's pursuers, who by some means or other, had heard of or suspected his intended flight, rushed on board. They searched the vessel with the greatest anxiety, threatening with horrid imprecations, that if they found the king, they would cut him in pieces. Not succeeding in their hopes of finding him, they compelled the captain to put to sea immediately; and they did not quit the vessel until she was under full sail.

I will leave it to the feelings of my readers to conceive what must have been the heart-rending anguish of the two friends who were thus forced to abandon to his cruel fate their much beloved sove-

by land to Paris, to apprize me of his coming. I saw the marquis in Paris on the 9th August.

reign; doubt and uncertainty contributed to render their situation still more distressing. It was only at the termination of a long and melancholy voyage that they could know whether they were to lament him as numbered with the dead, or living miserably as an unhappy captive.

As soon as it was dark, the king repaired to the spot where he was to have found the boat.—He remained there in the greatest anxiety until near day-light, occasionally ascending the cliffs in the hope of discerning the movements of his deliverers. When it was sufficiently light, he saw his ship, not indeed far off, but under sail, and without any means of communication.—In this desperate situation, neither his courage nor his presence of mind forsook him. He was gifted by nature with the most undaunted intrepidity—self-possession in the hour of danger, and a cheerfulness of soul, if I may so term it, which was never depressed by misfortune, and by which he was led instantly to apply his mind to the most prompt means of surmounting his difficulties.—Never, even in his most trying circumstances, was his countenance divested of that placid smile which was one of its remarkable features.

His friends in the vessel had purposely remained as long as possible in the vicinity of the shore, in the anxious hope that he would perhaps be able on perceiving them to throw himself into some little fishing-boat and still be rescued; but every minute increased the distance between their wishes and the possibility of accomplishing them. Still the ship

lingered in the offing, but scarcely had the king found a boat, and put off from the shore, when a gale arose, and the cruel moment arrived at which the vessel was obliged to stretch out to sea, and separate his friends from him for ever.

Fortunately for King Joachim, it occurred to him that it might be imprudent to return to the place of refuge which he had just quitted: had it been otherwise he would inevitably have perished, for at that moment the bloodhounds who pursued him were in the act of visiting the very spot.

He bent his steps whither chance directed him; carefully avoiding the vicinity of the forts or of any large dwelling, lest the first house he approached might prove to be the habitation of an enemy.—He wandered about the woods and vineyards for several days and nights with scarcely any sustenance and without shelter.—At length compelled by weariness and hunger, he determined to enter a farm house, where he flattered himself he might not be known.

He found only an old woman in the house, and informed her that he was an officer belonging to the garrison of Toulon, that he had been taking a long walk across the country; that he had lost his way, and had had no dinner, he, therefore, begged her to prepare him something to eat. The good old woman in the most courteous manner and with the greatest cheerfulness assured him, that he was a welcome guest, and that he might depend upon being instantly provided with the best fare her dear master's house would furnish.—This mention of

her "dear master," not a little alarmed the king, who immediately enquired his name, and if she expected him soon home? She satisfied his curiosity, adding, that he was only gone out for a walk. The good woman during this conversation, employed herself in preparing an omelet, and before she had finished either her cooking or her story, her master returned.

The king disguised the uneasiness he felt in this gentleman's company, who, however, very civilly bade him welcome, and seated himself at the table prepared for the king, at the same time desiring the old woman to make ready another omelet for himself. The king, who, as may well be supposed, was extremely hungry, had begun his meal previous to the declaration of his host, that he would join him.

No one who ever beheld the stately figure and affable countenance of King Joachim, could forget him. This was the case with our host, who though he had never seen him, had yet seen his portrait in the Marshals' Saloon at the Thuilleries, as well as his own coins of the grand duchy of Berg, and the kingdom of Naples. This gentleman had also heard of his being then in the vicinity, as well as of the persecution to which he had been subjected. He soon recognised in his guest the person of the king, and starting from his seat with every mark of the most profound respect, with tears in his eyes, begged the king to pardon the familiarity into which he

had been betrayed, assuring him that he would readily risk his life to preserve him, and that his house, his fortune, and his person, were all at the king's disposal. At this moment the old nurse, who was assiduously engaged at the fire, hearing her master's respectful and passionate address, from which she learnt the rank of the personage, for whom she had been exercising her culinary skill, was seized with an universal tremor; and in throwing herself at the king's feet, overturned the frying pan and its contents into the fire.

The king remained concealed in the house of this worthy gentleman for several days, when some circumstance made it necessary that he should be removed. Another country house was provided, which was then unoccupied, and a naval officer, whose name I shall not mention, was intrusted with the secret. An old woman, whose fidelity could be depended upon, was left in the house to wait upon the king, while the naval officer and an associate, named ————, were employed in occasionally attending upon his person, in bringing him necessaries and refreshments from the neighbouring town, and in guarding against any circumstance which might menace the king's safety.

In the mean time King Joachim's enemies by no means relaxed in their exertions to take him. The report of his having gold and jewels to an immense amount about his person, not a little contributed to increase their activity. The good old woman who

was employed to wait on the king, was indefatigable in her attention. She constantly kept watch during the night, while the king reposed, and would never retire to rest but in the middle of the day, when there was no danger of surprise, and his companions generally slept in the town to avoid observation.

It would appear, however, that something had led to a suspicion of the king's retreat; for at midnight on the 13th of August, a party of sixty men, headed by one Mocau, son of the general of that name, repaired to the villa in which the king was concealed. The house being placed upon an eminence, it would have been difficult to approach it in the day without discovery; but aided as this party was, by the darkness of the night, they made quite sure of taking their victim by surprise, and this must inevitably have happened, if these imprudent assassins had not provided themselves with a lanthern. The old dame, who was most fortunately watching at a window that looked towards the path which these ruffians were ascending, was alarmed at the appearance of the light, and immediately awoke the king, who was sleeping in his clothes with his arms beside him, and apprised him of his danger. He instantly covered himself with his great coat, seized his poignard and two pair of holster pistols, slipped out at a back door, and concealed himself under the thick foliage of the vines, at about thirty yards distance from the house. The old

woman fastened the door after him, whilst the gang surrounded the house. She had the presence of mind to make some delay in opening the door, under the pretence of requiring time to dress herself. In a few moments she disposed of the king's mattrass, and set all to rights. This privileged banditti examined every corner of the house, and a party extended their search to the garden and vineyards, in doing which, the king heard several of them pass within a few paces of him, expressing their wish that they might find him, to enjoy the pleasure of cutting him to pieces, and dividing his spoils; but after an unsuccessful search they left the house. The king afterwards informed me that it was his intention, in case he had been discovered, to kill as many of his assassins as he could, and then rather than suffer himself to be taken alive, to discharge his last pistol at his own head. After what had happened, it was the king's opinion, in which M. ——— joined, that to remain in the house, which had been so strictly searched, was his safest course, and he accordingly adopted it.

The king now began to despair of receiving any answer to the letters he had written to Paris, requesting to be taken under the protection of the allies. He had heard of my imprisonment for having applied to Lord Castlereagh in his behalf, and he therefore had no hope of my being able to make any further exertions in his favour. It was no longer possible for him to remain concealed

where he was; two distinguished personages at Marseilles having each offered 24,000 francs for his person, that is to say, for his head; for it was well known and understood that he could not be taken alive. In this desperate situation, whither could he fly? where be secure from the pursuits of his destroyers? He had not the means of undertaking a long voyage, or he would have followed the Duke of Roccaromana to Havre. Corsica was the only asylum which he had any chance of reaching. The romantic character of its inhabitants; that unconquerable spirit of independance, which their habits assist in maintaining; and the mountainous and inaccessible nature of their island, induced the king to hope that among this people he could not fail to find an hospitable and secure retreat, in which he might await the decision of the allies concerning his future destiny.

It was determined that the king should attempt the passage to Corsica in a little open boat, which Mr. ————, a very meritorious naval officer, from the most disinterested and humane motives, had purchased for the purpose, and who volunteered his services to attend the king on the voyage.

On the 22d August, the king wrote a letter to Fouché, which I have already mentioned, and the same evening embarked in the Bay of Toulon with his three friends. On the 24th they were assailed by a violent storm, and it was with the utmost difficulty, by unremitted exertion in bailing out

the water with their hats, that they were enabled to keep the boat afloat. In the afternoon they saw a small vessel at no great distance steering an opposite course. They approached it in the hope of being taken on board. It proved to be a vessel laden with wine, bound for Toulon. The king hailed the captain, and made him a considerable offer if he would take him to Bastia. Whether the master of this vessel felt alarmed at being thus accosted by four armed men, or whether he was actuated by any other motive is not known. So far, however, from listening to the king's proposals, he actually attempted to run down the boat, in which he would certainly have succeeded, but for the quickness and dexterity of the king and his party. It was with much difficulty that the king could be restrained from boarding the vessel, and taking ample vengeance on this miscreant, who was, however, suffered to continue his voyage.

The day after this occurrence, which had so nearly proved fatal to them, they had the good fortune to fall in with the Corsica packet, which sails regularly from Toulon to Bastia. It would have been impossible for them to keep their boat much longer afloat, which had received great injury from the attempt to run it down, and they had no sooner got on board the packet than their boat sunk.

In the packet they found several persons to whom the king was known; amongst them were

Generals ——— and ———, and the Duke of ———, who from prudential motives, were quitting the south of France. The king was received by these personages with every mark of respectful attachment. The master and crew were enjoined to feign themselves ignorant of the quality of their passengers. The vessel soon arrived at Bastia in safety. The king remained at this place only one day, and then proceeded with his three kind friends to Viscovato, a village situated in a very strong position fifteen miles south of Bastia. On arriving at the village, he unreservedly entered the most conspicuous house in the place, which happened to be the habitation of Mr. Colonna Cecaldi, the mayor, and a staunch partizan of the Bourbons, in whose cause he had for many years suffered exile from his native land.

This member of the illustrious Colonna family was eminently distinguished for his probity and universal benevolence. The king immediately made himself known to him, acquainted him with the causes of his being forced to take refuge in Corsica, where he assured him he only wished to remain a short time in safety, until he could be informed of the intentions of the allied sovereigns respecting him. In the mean while he threw himself entirely upon the hospitality of his worthy host. Mr. Colonna received the king with every mark of respect, and assured him that the laws of hospitality were held most sacred by every Cor-

sican ; he also observed that there existed no order of government or legal obligation on the French king's subjects to regard King Joachim as an enemy.

The king with his attendants resided for some time in the house of Mr. Colonna Cecaldi. And here he very unexpectedly found one of his aide-de-camps, General Franceschetti, who had recently retired from Naples with his wife, a daughter of Mr. Colonna Cecaldi.

The political situation of the island of Corsica was at this period somewhat extraordinary. The garrisons of Calvi, Bastia, and Ajaccio, did not collectively amount to more than one thousand men. The inhabitants were divided into three factions, the Buonapartist, the English, and the Bourbon. The two former were by far the most numerous, and in a great measure appeared to unite their efforts in opposition to the latter ; each party was in arms and on the alert, with the intention of acting as future circumstances might require. There was also some vestige of a party termed Independants, but their views did not appear to be distinctly defined. The white flag was displayed on the forts as well as on the church steeples in various parts of the island.

At this juncture the imprudent zeal of the commander of Bastia had nearly involved the island in a scene of warfare and bloodshed, which but for the prudence and moderation of

King Joachim would infallibly have occurred. The commander, probably being acquainted with the *meritorious* and *loyal exertions* of the authorities of Marseilles towards accomplishing the destruction of King Joachim, *felt a noble emulation* to participate in their *honours.* With this view he took upon himself to address a peremptory summons to the king, whom he styled Mr. Murat, enjoining him immediately to deliver himself into his custody, that he might be dealt with according to the will and pleasure of His Majesty the King of France.

It will not appear surprising that King Joachim should have refused to comply with the summons of this madman. He, however, condescended to return him an answer, in which he attributed his non-acquiescence to the want of authority and instructions on the part of the commandant, and his total incapacity to afford him any guarantee.

In consequence of this reply the commander of Bastia issued a proclamation, in which he declared King Joachim an enemy to the King of France, and a disturber of the public peace. A body of several hundred men was collected, formed into a battalion, and dispatched towards Viscovato, with orders to seize upon the king's person. This arbitrary mandate of the commander of Bastia, for which he had no authority, immediately brought to the defence of the king all the friends and

relations of Mr. Colonna Cecaldi, who without distinction of party rose up in arms and flew from all parts of the island towards Viscovato, *esteeming it a sacred duty to support their kinsman and friend in the defence of his illustrious guest, who had thrown himself upon his hospitality and protection.* To this force, which amounted in a few days to about six hundred men, completely armed, must be added about two hundred veterans, chiefly officers, who had formerly served in the king's armies and were then retired to their homes.

The battalion which had been directed against Viscovato was glad to return to Bastia unmolested, where it immediately dispersed.

The commandant of Bastia was now satisfied with being able to maintain himself on the defensive. Had King Joachim complied with the earnest solicitations of the force by which he was surrounded, he might not only have taken Bastia with the greatest ease, but have possessed himself of the whole island; all the soldiers in the garrisons, and the majority of the inhabitants, being disposed to join him.

King Joachim, however, by no means encouraged these dispositions; he persisted in declaring that he looked upon himself as a fugitive who had sought shelter in Corsica to claim the rites of hospitality, that he could by no means countenance any proceedings which might tend to prejudice the in-

terests of His Majesty Louis the 18th, and that he steadily persisted in awaiting the arrival of some duly authorised person from Paris.

After having with the utmost patience resided three weeks on the island, he began to despair of obtaining relief from the state of uncertainty and persecution in which he was placed. He was led by appearances to believe that he had been totally abandoned by the allied powers, to the mean and dastardly assaults of those from whom he had so lately escaped, and who still, he had reason to know, most ardently thirsted for his blood. These were the considerations which first inclined him to yield to the dictates of his heroic and dauntless spirit—driven to extremity his unconquered mind prompted him rather to seek death nobly in the field, and by fighting to recover his crown, than meet his fate at the hands of midnight assassins.

He had always held, that "*a king who could not* "*keep his crown had no alternative but a soldier's* "*death;*" and he was convinced in his own case, "*that although a prison might be offered him as an* "*asylum, a grave would lie at no great distance.*"

Soon after the failure of the expedition which had been directed against him at Viscovato, he thought it expedient in order to avoid coming to open hostilities with the commander of Bastia, to retire from the former place. He consequently dismissed the troops by whom he was surrounded, with the exception of about four hundred, among

which was a large proportion of officers ;—with these he proceeded to Ajaccio. On his approaching the town, the constituted authorities thought it their duty to retire. The mayor alone remained, from a laudable desire to preserve the public peace.

On the entrance of the king and his little army into the town, not the slightest disturbance or act of violence was committed. The governor of the citadel, whatever might have been his wishes, certainly had it not in his power to offer the least resistance. The king was received by the inhabitants with every mark of respect, and the soldiers composing the garrison of the citadel saluted him from the batteries with repeated cheers.

Several of the best houses were offered to the king, which he refused to occupy, from the fear of compromising the owners, who might probably on his departure suffer persecution on account of their hospitality towards him. He therefore took up his abode at an inn, and purchased five small vessels and a quantity of arms and ammunition. These preparations occupied several days ; and here I must leave him for the present to continue the narrative of my mission from the Emperor of Austria.

I have already stated that I arrived at Toulon on the 15th of September. After having communicated with M. Joliclerc and written to Count Stahremberg, the Austrian commander in chief in that part of France, I sailed on the 20th from Toulon on board a small vessel which I hired for the purpose, and arrived

at Calvi. I enquired where King Joachim was to be found, and learnt that it had been reported he was at Ajaccio. It was suggested to me that the road by land from Calvi to Ajaccio was highly dangerous, owing to the agitated state of the country: I thought it therefore expedient to sail to Bastia, particularly as I wished previously to any proceeding on my mission to communicate with the constituted authorities of that place, from whom I should also obtain correct information concerning King Joachim's retreat. Before quitting Calvi, however, I dispatched a courier with a letter to the king apprising him of my approach.

At Bastia, which I reached on the 25th, I found an English frigate, the Meander, Captain Bastard, with a division of five gun-boats.

Immediately on my arrival I received a visit from the mayor, accompanied by the chief commissary of police: I informed them of my errand, and desired them to apprise the commander of Bastia that I should wish to confer with him. I soon after waited upon him and communicated my credentials. The commandant informed me of what he had done to induce King Joachim to deliver himself into his hands; he further acquainted me that some days before, the Meander had arrived from Leghorn, having on board an English officer who styling himself aid-de-camp to the British commander of Genoa, had brought a summons *to Mr. Murat*, in which he was invited to deliver himself up forthwith

to this officer, under some threatened *pains and penalties*. That the officer had been politely received by King Joachim, who questioned him as to the authority of the persons who had sent him, and his instructions? the manner in which he the king was to be disposed of? and the guarantee they had to offer him? That to these interrogatories the only answer he could make, was, that he had orders to summon *Mr. Murat*, in the name of the allied sovereigns, to deliver himself up to his excellency the British commander in chief at Genoa!! I was further informed by the commandant that Captain Bastard had come from Leghorn on a similar errand from Lord Burghersh, the British minister at Florence; and that he the commandant and Captain Bastard had joined in framing and signing a summons in the name of the allied powers, and *of his excellency Lord Burghersh* for the king to surrender himself. The commandant concluded by shewing me a copy of this document, which was addressed "*to Mr. Murat*," and he gave me a printed copy of King Joachim's answer. I then observed, that I was much surprised that he or his associates could have expected to succeed by such means. Captain Bastard, who spent the greatest part of the day with me, confirmed the commandant's statement, and informed me that great alarm prevailed at Naples, where it had been reported that an attack was contemplated by King Joachim, but that every necessary preparation had been made to repel it, and that it was his,

Captain Bastard's, intention to send his gun-boats round that morning to Ajaccio, whilst he himself should cruise off the straits of Bonafacio, by which he said he expected to prevent the departure of the king's flotilla, or to capture it if it should get out of port.

Both Captain Bastard and myself were confident that the king would gladly accept the proposals I was authorised to make to him, and I was confident that on receiving my letter from Calvi, he would delay his expedition, even if it had been ready to sail, and therefore I submitted to Captain Bastard the propriety of postponing the execution of his plan, until the result of my mission was known, which he agreed to do, and moreover promised to remain at Bastia until he heard from me on the subject.

Captain Bastard observed, he had no doubt, that in the event of the king's acceptation of the proposed asylum, he might be authorised to convey the king and his suite to their destination, according to the terms of the passport which I shewed him. Previously to my leaving Bastia I received a visit from two Corsican gentlemen, who had arrived from Leghorn in the Meander. They were brothers, of the name of Carabelli: one of them, a captain on half pay, had served many years in the Royal Corsican Rangers in the English service; the other had occupied for some years a respectable civil situation in the kingdom of Naples.

These gentlemen, after some previous conversation, produced a document, signed by one Medici, minister of police and of foreign affairs to King Ferdinand, by which they were commissioned by this Medici to impede, counteract, and weaken, by all the means in their power, the expedition of King Joachim, particularly by diminishing the number of his followers, and by pointing out the inevitable destruction which must await them. They both joined me in the perfect conviction that King Joachim would willingly accept the asylum I was empowered to offer him; and hearing that I intended to depart for Ajaccio, they proposed that we should travel in company, to which I readily acceded.

I set out on my journey to Ajaccio about midnight, the mayor of Bastia having furnished me with a sufficient number of mules for myself, attendants, and baggage. Our party consisted of fifteen persons, including seven soldiers, all well armed.

The beautifully picturesque scenery of the country through which we passed; the abrupt, confused, and stupendous piles of granite mountain rising one above the other, and covered from their base to the summit with stately chesnut trees, oaks and pines, but above all the stern independent character of the romantic natives, hospitable in the extreme, and implacable in their enmities, but brave and open-hearted:—these would form

the subjects of an interesting digression, but it would be foreign to my story, and therefore I shall not dwell on the description.

After twenty hours incessant travelling I arrived at Corté, the capital, situated about the centre of the island. I was here met by a courier with a letter from King Joachim, in which he informed me that in consequence of my letter over land from Calvi, he had delayed his departure, which otherwise would have taken place that same evening, and desired me most earnestly to hasten my arrival at Ajaccio. The courier brought me a good horse with a saddle, by which means I was enabled to perform the rest of my journey with ease and celerity.

I arrived at Ajaccio on the afternoon of the 28th September. The house occupied by the king was distinguishable by his standard, and by the centinels which were planted at the door. I immediately sent to the king, to enquire when he would be pleased to receive me, and he returned for answer that I might come to him immediately. I thought it requisite, however, to communicate to him in diplomatic form by letter the object of my mission. I wrote the letter, and was myself the bearer of it. He received me with the utmost kindness and cordiality, and upon my giving him a brief account of the manner in which I had obtained for him from the Emperor of Austria the offer of an asylum, he expressed

his warmest acknowledgments for my exertions in his behalf, and his entire approbation of my conduct.

I now had recourse to every argument and supplication in my power to induce him to accede to the proposal, and I informed him that an English frigate waited at Bastia to convey him to Trieste. He replied, *that I was come too late, that the die was cast, that he had waited nearly three months with the utmost patience, and at the constant risk of his life for the decision of the allies. That it appeared evident to him that he had been abandoned by the sovereigns who had so lately courted his alliance, to perish by the revengeful daggers of his enemies, and that he had at length resolved to attempt to regain his kingdom.* He declared that *although he entertained the greatest confidence in the success of his intended expedition for that purpose, still, in one respect, the result was a matter of indifference to him, as he should at least have it in his power to meet death, which he had so repeatedly faced in the field. That the war in which he had been engaged with England and Austria, during the course of which he had been obliged to take refuge in Corsica, could not remove him from his position as a sovereign acknowledged by all Europe. That kings in going to war for territory, do not intend to question their respective titles to the crowns they have worn, nor do they cease reciprocally to consider them as*

sacred. That when it happens by the fate of war a monarch is driven from his capital, he has a right to return if he can find the means; that he had signed no abdication.

Notwithstanding the justice and truth of these observations I persisted in conjuring him to abandon his project, to accept the refuge which was offered, and in the bosom of his family, to await some favourable turn in the affairs of Europe, which might lead to the re-establishment of his fortunes.

These arguments were, however, of no avail, and the king concluded his reasons for persisting in his resolution, by observing that he *had now compromised three hundred brave officers and men*, who if abandoned by him must inevitably become victims to the vengeance of their government. He then informed me that he intended to sail with his expedition that night: on which I requested the king to give me a written answer to the proposal I had been charged to make to him: he instantly wrote in my presence the following reply, in which his real intentions regarding his expedition are disguised.

Ajaccio, 25th September, 1815.

Mr. Macirone, envoy of the allied powers to King Joachim.——I have just perused the dispatches of which you are the bearer. I accept the passport which you are charged to deliver to me, and I shall use it to repair to the destination fixed in it. As to

the condition which his imperial and royal majesty annexes to the offer of an asylum in Austria, I reserve to myself the privilege of treating upon this important article at the period when I shall be united to my family.

The disrespectful summons which the captain of his Britannic Majesty's frigate has addressed to me, prevents me from accepting the offer which you make me, in *his* name, to receive me on hoard *his* vessel.

Persecuted and menaced, even in Corsica, because some persons ventured to accuse me of sinister intentions on this island, I had already prepared for my departure, in effect, I shall set out this night.

I accept with pleasure the valets de chambre which you are pleased to cede me.

Whereupon, Mr. Macirone, I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

The original signed,

JOACHIM.*

This letter the king then thought necessary to give me, in consequence of having been apprised by his friends at Bastia of the arrival of the brothers, Carabelli, and of their errand, to whom he knew that it would be expected I should transmit the answer, and from whom he at first wished to conceal his purpose; but afterwards, about 11

* For the original French, see Appendix (F).

o'clock he sent for the Carabelli, who had been in his service and acquainted him with his designs; when Carabelli did all in his power to dissuade him from the undertaking, but in vain.

The king engaged me to dine with him.—The party consisted of about twelve persons, who composed the staff of his little army: amongst the number were, Generals Franceschetti, his aid-de-camp, and General ———, besides five or six colonels.—During dinner the king conversed with his usual gaiety and affability; he was urgent in his enquiries about his family, and about those of his court, who he feared might have suffered in the political convulsion which had recently taken place. He also particularly questioned me after his good and honorable friends, as he termed them, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Holland, Sir Robert Wilson, Lord Sligo, Lord Oxford, Lord Landaff, General Matthews, and several other English noblemen and persons of rank. If I here take the liberty of particularizing the names of these personages, I think myself warranted in so doing, from the desire the king expressed that they should be apprized of his remembrance, and from the conviction I have, that these *personages will not feel less disposed to accept recollections, because they were dictated in an hour of misfortune.*—To the English nation in general, he paid the highest tributes of praise and admiration; and he alluded to their late hostilities

against himself, only as to measures of which they would soon discover the erroneous policy. He likewise spoke at considerable length of the battle of Waterloo, and much praised the valour and discipline of the English troops; but he reprobated the manner in which the French cavalry had been employed and sacrificed.—He then proceeded to demonstrate to me the manœuvres and measures, which he said he should have directed and adopted if he had commanded the cavalry, and which he flattered himself would certainly have ensured a very different result.

After dinner he desired me to attend him in his private apartment.—Here I again took an early opportunity of resuming my supplications to him to abandon his project, but I found him immoveable in his resolution. I now, however, reflected that it was not impossible but some circumstance might occur, during the execution of, or even previous to his commencement of the attempt, which might lead him to alter his intentions, either from necessity or change of council, and dispose him to take advantage of the offer he then rejected.—In this view I consigned to him the passport for Trieste, which I had received from Prince Metternich, in the hope that he might, during the course of his voyage, determine to avail himself of it, and abandon his hostile enterprize. I moreover furnished him with the answers which I had received through

Sir C. Stuart from the English ministry, to my application in his name for permission to retire to England.

He observed to me, that the letter which he had just addressed to me, contained a deception, which he regarded as unbecoming his dignity ; he therefore informed me that it was his intention to address another letter to me, in which he would inform me of his real intentions, and enter into some explanations concerning the motives of his conduct.—He accordingly sat down at his desk in my presence, and with his own hand wrote the following letter, which he ordered his secretary to transcribe. he then signed it, and the transcript thus signed was afterwards sent to me.

Ajaccio, 28th September, 1815.

Mr. Macirone, envoy of the allied powers to King Joachim.——My first letter of this day was dictated by the circumstances of the moment. It is now, however, a duty which I owe to myself—to truth—and to your noble frankness and sincerity, to acquaint you with my real intentions.

I value my liberty above every other blessing.—Captivity and death are to me synonymous.—What treatment can I expect from those powers who abandoned me for two months to the daggers of the assassins of Marseilles ?—I saved the Marquis de Riviere's life—he was condemned to perish on the scaffold ; *I* obtained his pardon from the emperor.—

Execrable truth!—*He* instigated these wretches,—*he* it was who set a price on my head!!!*

Wandering in the woods, hidden in the mountains, I owe my life solely to the generous compassion which my misfortunes excited in the breasts of three French officers; they conveyed me to Corsica, at the imminent peril of their lives.

Wretches there are who assert, that I have taken away with me great treasures from Naples: do they not know that when I received that kingdom in exchange for my grand duchy of Berg, *(which I possessed in virtue of a solemn treaty) I brought thither immense riches?—All was expended for the*

* It will be remembered, that the trials of the parties concerned in the plot to *assassinate* the First Consul, took place at Paris, in the month of July, 1804. General Moreau was sentenced to two years imprisonment; Georges Cadoudal, M. de Riviere, and sixteen others, were condemned to suffer death, with confiscation of property.

It is a well-known fact, that *M. de Riviere owed the pardon which was extended to him by Napoleon, entirely to the intercession of King Joachim and his consort.* The king himself informed me, that on a particular occasion, the queen, who had been much affected at an interview which she had granted to de Riviere's wife, passionately declared to her brother Napoleon, "*that she would not leave his presence until he had granted "her supplications in de Riviere's behalf.*"

On the 25th of July, Georges and his accomplices were guillotined at the Place de Grêve, and the Marquis de Riviere is at this moment His Most Christian Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople!! owing his life to the intercession of *this murdered king and his widow, and the mercy of Napoleon!*

improvement of my kingdom of Naples!—Has the sovereign who has since been placed on that throne recognised any of its former features?—Neither myself nor my family now possess decent means of subsistence.

I will not accept, Mr. Macirone, the conditions which you are charged to offer me. I perceive nothing in them, but an absolute abdication, on the mere condition that *I shall be permitted to exist*, but in eternal captivity, subjected to the arbitrary action of the laws *under a despotic government*. Is this moderation? — Is this justice?—Is this the regard—the respect due to an unfortunate monarch, who has been formally acknowledged by all Europe, and who in a very *critical moment decided the campaign of* 1814, in favour of *these very powers*, who, *now contrary to their own interests, pursue him with the overwhelming might of their persecutions?*

It is a well known truth that I drove back the Austrians as far as the Po, only because I had been persuaded by dint of intrigue that they were preparing to attack me, though without the concurrence of England. I judged it necessary to advance my line of defence, and gain the people to my cause.

No one knows better than you, Mr. Macirone, and Lord Bentinck himself, that I made the fatal movement of retreat, only upon the declaration of that general, that he felt himself obliged to support the Austrians, since they had claimed his aid. You are well aware of the causes which produced dis-

order and desertion in my fine army. False reports so artfully circulated of my death—of the landing of the English in Naples, the conduct of General Pignatelli Strongoli ; in fine, the treachery of some officers, who by their insinuations and example, succeeded with perfidious art to augment discouragement and desertion.

At this moment there does not exist a single individual of that army who is not sensible of his errors. I am going to join them—they all are eager to see me again at their head.—They, and every class of my well beloved subjects, have preserved to me their affections.

I have not abdicated.—I have a right to recover my *crown, if God gives me the force and the means.*—My presence on the throne of Naples could not now be a subject of dread.—It could no longer be pretended that I corresponded with Napoleon, who is at St. Helena.—Much to the contrary. Both England and Austria might reap advantages from it, which they may in vain expect from the sovereign whom it has pleased them to put in my place.

I indulge in these details, Mr. Macirone, because it is to you that I am writing.—Your conduct towards me, your reputation, and your name, give you claims to my candour and esteem.

You could not throw any obstacle in the way of my departure, though such might be your desire. By the time you receive this letter, I shall be well advanced towards my destination. I shall either

succeed, or terminate my misfortunes with my life. I have faced death a thousand and a thousand times in fighting for my country:—*shall I not be permitted to brave it once for myself?* I tremble only for the fate of my family.

I shall ever remember with pleasure the noble and delicate manner in which you have fulfilled your mission to me. It forms an agreeable contrast with the *gratuitously insolent and revolting behaviour of several other persons towards me*, who neither possessed the powers nor consideration which you enjoy.

I have given orders that your papers may be returned to you.—Whereupon, Mr. Macirone, I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

Signed in the original,

JOACHIM.*

Previously to my taking leave of the king, he observed that he owed me a considerable sum of money for several journies which I had taken on his account, from Italy to England, and for various articles which I had purchased in England for the

* The two original letters of King Joachim to me, were amongst my papers seized by order of the minister of police at Paris, and are still detained; but I had sent copies to England from Toulon immediately on my return from Corsica, from which I have transcribed the copies here given, which I verify to be in conformity with the original.

N. B. For the original French, see Appendix (G).

queen: for which I had not been reimbursed; he added that for the present it was only in his power simply to repay me, but he expressed a hope that he should at a future time be enabled to confer on me substantial proofs of his regard. He observed that he had but a small quantity of gold with him, but that he would give me a bill; and he then drew a bill for 40,000 francs, payable to my order on a Mr. Barillon, banker at Paris; he then wrote a letter of advice, and signed them both in my presence, and delivered them to me. Consigning to the king the two servants, and the trunk of clothes which I had brought for him, I took leave of him, and retired to my lodgings.

The house in which I lodged was within a stone's throw of the citadel, under the walls of which the king's flotilla lay. At about one o'clock in the morning I was aroused by the discharge of a gun, apparently of small calibre, this was followed by another, from a heavy piece of ordnance loaded with shot. I immediately dressed myself, and hastily repaired to the spot from whence the firing proceeded. Before I could reach the beach at the foot of the citadel, several other shots were fired. I was alarmed for the safety of the king; but I soon discovered his little armament at some distance under sail. There were artillerymen upon the batteries, with lighted matches, but no more shots were fired. I spoke to a centinel on the walls, of whom I enquired the cause of the firing,

and whether it had not been directed against the king's vessels? His answer was, "you may depend "upon it, we took care to fire quite in a contrary "direction;" and added that "the first shot had "been fired by the king's own vessel as a signal "for getting under weigh." On this information, I returned to my apartments.

The first visit I received in the morning was from the mayor* of the city. He came to apprise me officially of the departure of King Joachim, who he informed me had sailed at one o'clock with not more than 250 men, who however were all veterans, and the most determined characters in the island. This account was shortly confirmed to me by the two M. Carabelli's. I was shortly after visited by Colonel Delaforest, military commander in Ajaccio, who informed me that from the first moment of the arrival of King Joachim in that city, he had been so entirely unable to controul his garrison, as not to have it in his power to oppose the least obstacle to the views and preparations of the king and his friends. The utmost that he had been able to

* This gentleman's name was Martinenghi. By his firmness, moderation, and conciliating conduct, he saved his country from the horrors of civil war. With this benevolent intent he remained at Ajaccio, on the approach of King Joachim, when all the other magistrates abandoned their posts. I have since learnt, that his stay in Ajaccio at that moment, has been regarded as a non-participation in the hatred of the French court to King Joachim, upon which pretext he has suffered much persecution.

effect, was having kept his men within the gates of the citadel, but on the sailing of the expedition, he thought it requisite at least to fire a few shots as a sign of non-concurrence. That the soldiers loudly exclaimed, that "the first who should put the match "to a gun, would certainly be saluted by a volley "from behind;" at length he had succeeded in persuading them to fire the few shots I heard, although in a direction quite contrary to that of the flotilla. He assured me that had he acted towards his garrison with less policy and cautious forbearance, they would have entirely broke from his command, and thus have given a first impulse, more than sufficient at that time, to create an universal insurrection and revolt in the island.

At this moment a person brought me the letter, addressed to me by the king, the contents of which I communicated to the persons who were with me; I immediately transmitted a copy to Prince Metternich, and another to the minister of police at Paris. I now felt that in conformity to my engagement with Captain Bastard, it was necessary that I should inform him of King Joachim's departure; I had been about to acquaint the king on the preceding evening that I should have to perform this unpleasant duty, when he quickly interrupted me, by asking whether I supposed him so short-sighted, as not to have foreseen the necessity of providing against this circumstance? and assured me that I and my companions had no sooner passed

the defiles above Bogognano, than they were immediately guarded so as effectually to prevent the return of a single individual, or even of an army back to Bastia. He added that they would continue to be guarded until the evening after his departure,* which would insure him the start of Captain Bastard by at least forty hours, which was more than he desired.

The occupation of the passes by the king's friends, indeed, presented an impediment to any communication with other parts of the island, which could not have been overcome by a thousand of the best troops in the world, if they had been at my disposal.†

It was mid-day before my dispatches were ready, when a courier was sent off with them, to whom the king's friends, who kept the passes, gave no interruption, being fully pre-possessed with an idea that any intelligence would have been conveyed by

* He sailed in the night between the 28th and 29th of September.

† Most people are acquainted with the great strength and inaccessibility, in a military point of view, of the island of Corsica. I think it was in 1795, that in the vicinity of Bogognano, 400 British soldiers were arrested on their march by some Corsicans, who defended their position in an old ruin for three days, when from want they were obliged to capitulate, but on the most honourable terms, and to the astonishment of the English, they were found to be only thirteen in number. They had killed or wounded fifty-seven English, including several officers, amongst whom was the commander.

the gens d'armes who had escorted me to Ajaccio, Captain Bastard received my letter in thirty hours, and in forty-two hours after the sailing of the king. He immediately set sail in pursuit of him, but did not overtake him.

I was detained at Ajaccio by contrary winds for some days after the departure of the king. I then sailed for Toulon, in a vessel which I had hired for the voyage. At the time of the king's sailing, as well as for a considerable time before, the weather had been uniformly fine and serene, but on the night after his sailing, a violent storm dispersed his little squadron, which, as I have already said, consisted of five small vessels. The intention of the king had been to land at Salerno, which is within thirty miles of Naples, and where a considerable number of old Neapolitan troops were re-organising. On the storm subsiding, he found himself at the entrance of the gulph of St. Euphemia, entirely separated from the rest of his squadron. Thus situated, he for reasons, with which I am not well acquainted, decided on landing immediately in the vicinity of Pizzo, in preference to returning towards Salerno in search of the rest of his force. The felucca which carried the king, was the smallest and the swiftest of the flotilla. Besides sailors, the number of persons on board, consisted of thirty-one, all veteran officers, amongst whom was General Francheschetti. These, with the king at their head, who was habited in a splendid uniform, landed within

half a mile of the town of Pizzo. At this eventful moment, the first who re-beheld the person of their heroic but unfortunate sovereign, were a few soldiers, called coast-guards, who from curiosity, or in execution of their duty, had repaired to the spot where he landed. Some of the men immediately recognised the king, and placing their *shakos* on their bayonets, saluted him with the most enthusiastic cheers. He now lost no time in proceeding with his party to the town of Pizzo, and arrived at the market place; where he addressed the throng by which he was surrounded. Many of the inhabitants saluted him as king, and prepared to join him, the rest manifested a degree of timidity and suspense. He, however, did not think proper to wait there to increase his force; but having been supplied by the inhabitants with a sufficient number of horses, immediately proceeded towards Monteleone.

It may be necessary to observe that the principal part of the town of Pizzo and its dependencies belong to the Spanish grandee, the Duke del Infantado. This circumstance naturally gives to the agent of the duke, who resides there, much influence over the inhabitants. The king had no sooner quitted the town than this agent of the duke harangued the people in the market-place, appealing principally to their fears, and demanding whether they could be aware of the dreadful punishment and extermination to which they would be subjected for not having opposed the progress of the

invader. He thus contrived to induce several of the people to take up arms, and place themselves under his command. In the mean time King Joachim was hastening towards Monteleone ;* he had not, however, proceeded far before he was met by a colonel of gens d'armes, named Trentacapelli, who was on his way from Monteleone to Pizzo. The king invited the colonel to join him, and proceed with him to Monteleone ; but the colonel, fearing perhaps to confide in such apparent feeble means, respectfully declined the proposal, and pointing towards Monteleone, he observed, " he " would regard *him* as his sovereign, whose flag he " should behold flying on the castles." On this the king imprudently suffered him to proceed to Pizzo, where he found the agent of the Duke del Infantado using his utmost influence with the people, to induce them to arm in the cause of Ferdinand. The arrival of the colonel gave a new impulse to this measure ; he united his efforts and authority to the persuasions and influence of the agent, and without loss of time put himself at the head

* From the various and concurring accounts which I have obtained from many respectable persons, who were at that time at Naples, it appears that if the king had but reached Monteleone, the capital of the Calabrians, he would undoubtedly have succeeded in his enterprise. The Calabrians were in a most unsettled state ; and the dauntless warlike inhabitants were greatly attached to King Joachim. They also detested the Austrians, who had not been able to obtain the least footing in the country.

of a strong party, and hastened to pursue the king, who by this time had got half way to Monteleone.

The colonel and his party had not proceeded far from the town, before his approach was perceived by King Joachim, whose ruin was at this moment consummated by a most fatal mistake. It occurred to the king and his followers, that the armed party, which from their elevated situation, they could see at a considerable distance, had been collected by Colonel Trentacapelli with the intention of joining them. With this idea the king suspended his march, thinking it more advisable to await this expected reinforcement, previous to his entrance into the city of Monteleone. On the nearer approach of these supposed friends, the king advanced some steps to meet them, and some of his little troop shouted, "viva il Ré Gioachino!" when to their surprise they were answered by a volley of musquetry. A sharp contest immediately ensued; the king's party fought desperately, some of them were killed, and many wounded. It was not possible for them entirely to disperse a force so superior in point of numbers, and they could not advance to Monteleone with these enemies in their rear; the king therefore determined to regain his vessel. Followed by General Franceschetti and about twelve others, he rushed through the thickest of his enemies, of whom he slew several with his own hand, and discharged his last pistol in the face of Colonel Trentacapelli, but without killing him.

The hostile party were astonished by this daring attack, and thrown into confusion, when the king profiting by their consternation, pushed forward and reached the beach, where he had left his vessel, himself unhurt, though all the others were wounded.

At this moment he would undoubtedly have been saved, if his vessel had been there to receive him, but she was standing out to sea. The commander, Captain Barbará, had heard the firing between the king and his pursuers, and consulting only his own safety, left the coast, and abandoned the king to his fate. In this desperate situation the king threw himself into the water and gained a fishing-boat which lay close at hand. Franceschetti and the rest followed him. The boat was unfortunately aground, and the king's efforts to push it off proved ineffectual. Finding this boat immoveable, the king again threw himself into the sea and got into another, a very small one, which was about twenty yards distant from the other. By this time the beach was crowded by the king's pursuers, but none of them now attempted to fire at him, nor dared to approach him, all stood gazing at him in astonishment, and in the little boat he might have escaped, but it was unfortunately fastened to the shore, and he could not disengage the rope. The fisherman to whom it belonged, perhaps from the fear of losing it, at length seized the head and pulled it towards the beach, while one of his companions waded into the

sea, got into the boat, and attempted to seize the king, who struck the fellow on the head with his fist, and knocked him overboard. Numbers now followed the example of the two fishermen, and the boat was completely surrounded, but still no one attempted to offer violence to the king's person. He stood up unarmed in the midst of his assailants, intreating them to suffer him to depart, and as a last hope, produced his passport for Trieste. Finding his persuasions and resistance useless, he was constrained to deliver himself into the hands of his enemies.

The intelligence of the event was immediately conveyed by telegraph to Naples. The military commander of the district, lately placed there by King Ferdinand, received orders by the same expeditious conveyance to assemble a court martial to try King Joachim. The trial was very summary; the king received his sentence with a smile of contempt and indignation. He wrote a most affectionate farewell letter to his wife and children, which he earnestly begged might be safely delivered. He declared that he thought it incumbent upon him to die in the profession of the religion in which he had been educated, and requested the assistance of a clergyman, from whom he received the Eucharist. He had upon his person a portrait of his queen and children, which he placed upon his breast; and refusing to sit upon a stool which was offered him, or to have his eyes covered, he

smiled upon his executioners, and received the fatal fire.

Thus fortune was for once adverse to courage, and the blood of a hero was permitted to be lawlessly, uselessly, and inhumanly shed, by a sovereign who had never been wronged by his victim. His death was ignominious only to his enemies. Those who had been his subjects will revere his memory. France may reproach it for the evils to which he unintentionally contributed, and Europe will for a time be insensible of the ingratitude he experienced, in consequence of a feigned or unfounded belief in the double perfidies which were imputed to him ;* but when the book of truth shall be unfolded, it will appear that the errors of Murat were not errors of his heart, and that the treachery

* An attempt was made by Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons to prove King Joachim was carrying on a perfidious correspondence with Napoleon, during the time he was engaged to act with the allies; but Mr. Hobhouse, in his Letters, has demonstrated the fraudulent character of the documents produced in support of that allegation, and convicted the king's enemies of forgeries to deceive the British minister.

Two letters were also brought forward as authority to justify the refusal of the king's recognition after the peace of 1814; but were Lord William Bentinck and General Nugent qualified judges to sanction the dethronement of a sovereign who had remonstrated against their proceedings? and if their accusation were to have such important consequences, ought they to have been required in a secret correspondence, which afforded no opportunity to the accused to vindicate himself?

of which he was accused, never dishonoured his courage, or true nobility of mind.

I was detained at Ajaccio, as I have before mentioned, by contrary winds for some days after King Joachim's expedition had sailed, and I did not arrive at Toulon, on my way to Paris, until the 12th of October, when being obliged to perform quarantine, I took advantage of this delay in my journey, to send by the post to Prince Metternich, and to the French minister of police copies of King Joachim's proclamations, and of the other documents which I had received from him; and my money having fallen short and not having provided myself with letters of credit on Toulon, I was further constrained to await the arrival of a remittance from Paris.

During the period of my quarantine I was requested by M. Latourette, the sub-prefect of Toulon, in the name of the prefect of the department, to furnish some account of the circumstances of King Joachim's departure from Corsica; I immediately signified my readiness to comply with his wishes, and for that purpose I was invited to repair from the Lazaret to the Quarantine Parlatory, which is situated in the port of Toulon. I communicated to the sub-prefect all I knew on the subject, and I permitted him to take copies of the various documents which had any relation to the transaction.

There was present at the conversation, besides M. De Latourette and his secretary, another individual, of a most forbidding appearance, who frequent-

ly introduced his remarks and observations, in a manner and with an air of importance which excited my attention. This person, whose name was Barthelemy,* informed me with the greatest self-complacency that he had used his utmost efforts to effect the destruction of King Joachim when he was concealed in the vicinity of Toulon, and gave me an account of the nocturnal expedition to the house they suspected he occupied, and which I have already related; on which *humane* but unsuccessful enterprise he informed me he had *had the honour* to accompany M. Mocau. In order to sound this miscreant, I asked him how, with the knowledge they must have had of the king's personal courage and prowess, they could ever expect to take him alive? In reply to which he did not hesitate to assure me that this *was never expected or intended.* He said it was well known that the king carried about his person diamonds to the value of several millions of francs. At the mention of this property I observed that it appeared to me the persecution which the king had suffered might be very much attributed to the zeal of his enemies to possess themselves of

* This man in the year 1796 was the friend and coadjutor of the notorious Jourdan Coupetête, President of the Revolutionary Tribunal at Orange. Barthelemy now kept a small earthenware shop, and enjoyed the unlimited confidence of the emigrant Count de Lardenoy, commander of Toulon. He could arrest any person he thought proper by virtue of an ad libitum written authority from this governor.

his supposed riches; and I added that it was surprising to me, that a few individuals in obscure situations should of their own authority have taken those measures against the king, at the very time the allied powers were occupied in providing for his safety, and had dispatched me to him with the offer of an asylum. To this observation M. Barthelemy answered, that I was very much mistaken, if I supposed that himself or his companions had acted without authority; he assured me that the Marquis de Riviere, as well as *the British commander* at Marseilles, had each offered a reward of twenty thousand francs as a stimulus to their exertions in the pursuit of the king. I affected to doubt this assertion, and addressing myself to the secretary of the sub-prefect, I interrogated him as to its accuracy. He in the presence of at least a dozen persons, most of whom were official characters, instantly confirmed the declaration of the sub-prefect, as a circumstance of public notoriety, which seemed, in his opinion, *to reflect much honour* upon the personages by whom the rewards had been offered, and which confirmed, as he said, the brave and zealous royalists of Marseilles and Toulon, in the conviction of their having acted in perfect coincidence with the views of their royal court.

I had been released from quarantine, and was anxiously waiting the return of the post from Paris, with a remittance, when I unexpectedly received a message from M. Rosily, special commissary of

police at Toulon, by which I was informed that the Marquis de Riviere, who commanded the department of *Bouches du Rhone*,* wished to see me at Marseilles, for the purpose, as M. Rosily supposed, of obtaining information concerning the state of Corsica, since the marquis had recently received a commission to organize and consolidate the government of that island, previous to his proceeding on his embassy to Constantinople, to which he had been then lately appointed. I waited on M. Rosily, who informed me that the marquis had been at Toulon two days before, and had endeavoured to persuade the Count de Lardenoy, the governor, to arrest me, and that the count had intimated to him (M. Rosily) an intention of complying with the marquis's wish, but that he, M. Rosily, declared to the count that such matters rested with himself, who was at the head of the police, and that he thought it his duty to protest against such a violent measure in regard to a person who was invested with a diplomatic character; and that if the governor thought proper to send his gens d'armes to molest my person, he should dispatch a greater number to pro-

* The Marquis de Riviere enjoyed the unbounded confidence and support of King Louis. His power and his functions in the south of France were unlimited and undefined. In these he was occasionally strengthened by the *benign influence* of the Duke d'Angouleme's presence. *The occurrences at Avignon, Nismes, &c. are proofs of the mildness with which this conjoint power was executed.*

tect me. M. Rosily, was however so far influenced by the Marquis de Riviere, as to insist upon my immediately quitting Toulon. I assured him that the only obstacle for my so doing was the want of money, and I requested twenty-four hours further delay to supply that deficiency.

Our conversation now turned upon various subjects, and I took an opportunity of questioning M. Rosily concerning the persecution of King Joachim.—I received from this magistrate an entire confirmation of what I had learnt from Barthelemy. He assured me that he was well acquainted with a person, whom he named, who was suspected of knowing his (Joachim's) retreat, and who had received from *Lord Exmouth the promise of a reward of a thousand Louis for the seizure of Joachim's person, but that the bribe was nobly refused.*

On quitting M. Rosily, I had the good fortune to meet with a person, who from having some previous knowledge of me, was so obliging as to furnish me with a hundred pounds on my bill on Paris; and while I was preparing for my departure one of the principal magistrates of Toulon, whose name for obvious reasons I must suppress, waited on me for the purpose of cautioning me against placing myself in the power of the Marquis de Riviere. I thanked him for his kindness and humanity, but at the same time assured him that being conscious of no fault, and feeling perfectly secure in my public capacity, whatever might be the disposition of

the marquis, I was at all events sure of the protection of *Lord Exmouth*, the *commander in chief* of the *British forces* in the Mediterranean *then residing at Marseilles*. Thus circumstanced I did not hesitate in proceeding to Marseilles, though I might have avoided that city and have reached Paris by a different route.

I left Toulon on the 21st of October, and arrived at Marseilles on the same day. As I reached the first houses of the town my carriage was surrounded by gens d'armes, who signified to me that I was arrested, and that they had orders to conduct me to the Marquis de Riviere. My postillion observed it was to the house of the marquis that I had already ordered him to drive.

The marquis received me with politeness, but with his *well known* smile. I proceeded to expostulate with him on the unnecessary and unwarrantable violence with which I was treated, and requested him to inform me what crime was laid to my charge. He gave me no direct answer, but ordered one of his attendants immediately to go to Lord Exmouth's, and enquire if his lordship was at home and could receive him. The marquis then left the room, and soon after returned dressed in uniform. He still avoided coming to an explanation with me respecting my arrest. The person who had been sent to Lord Exmouth's soon returned, and informed the marquis that Lord Exmouth would be glad to receive him. The marquis left

me in the company of an aid-de-camp and some officers of the national guard, and after a lapse of nearly two hours he returned, accompanied by the special commissary of police of Marseilles, whose name was Rosiez, also in full uniform.

They now proceeded to interrogate me as to the object of my journey to Corsica. I answered by exhibiting my passport and credentials, which they confessed were perfectly regular. The marquis then proceeded to reproach me with having assisted a traitor and an enemy to France. I had been, he said, the original instigator of the generous measures adopted by the Emperor of Austria in favour of King Joachim, who I had thus screened from the vengeance of the French government. He moreover reproached me for having manifested a friendly disposition on my return to Toulon for M. Donnadieu,* who was

* The case of this meritorious officer, equally distinguished for his courage and literary acquirements, as well as for his unassuming modesty and goodness of heart, may justly be cited as an example of the capriciousness of fortune, and the frequent inefficiency of merit unsupported by patronage. M. Donnadieu has served his country upwards of twenty years. He distinguished himself at the siege of St. Juan d'Acre; and at the battle of the Nile, he was one of the few who escaped from on board the L'Orient, saving many of his shipmates at the risk of his own life. At the battle of Trafalgar he fought bravely on board the French admiral's ship. At one time he was the only person left standing on the quarter-deck ex-

one of the three officers who had conveyed King Joachim to Corsica. I answered that in the transaction to which he alluded, I was by no means the responsible person. The Duke of Wellington, Prince Metternich, the French ministers, were the persons who ought to bear any odium he might attach to the object of my mission, which had been resolved upon in the general council of the allied ministers. I observed further, I had merely been Prince Metternich's deputy, and that I had executed my

cept Admiral Villeneuve. He afterwards saved the ship when driven on a rock at the mouth of Cadiz harbour, during the dreadful storm which ensued, by volunteering to go on shore for assistance in a little canoe which was found in the hold of the ship. Shortly after this period, despairing of promotion in the navy he entered the army. He distinguished himself at the battles of Austerlitz and Wagram, and was with the army of Marshal Massena in Portugal. After having served with honour in the campaign in Poland and in Russia, he re-entered the navy. When it was proposed to him to assist in the escape of King Joachim to Corsica, he consented from the purest motives of generosity, and *afterwards refused to receive the slightest remuneration from the king, although his means were slender, having nothing but his pay as lieutenant to subsist on.* From Bastia, he returned to Toulon in the packet, and happening to be in quarantine at the same time with myself, I accidentally became acquainted with him. During his absence from Toulon he had been cashiered *without trial* by a royal decree, in which, *however, his crime was not mentioned.* My offence was having afforded him the aid and attention which his necessities required.

mission with zeal and activity. "That zeal and "activity," said he, interrupting me, "is the "strongest feature in your guilt: you know that "Murat was on the point of meeting with the "*punishment due to his crimes, and of falling a* "*sacrifice to divine justice*, if you had not res- "cued him from our power, and obtained for "him a safe retreat. You are an enemy to France "and to your country, for having espoused the "cause of a traitor to both." I asked this fanatic by what act King Joachim had wronged the King of France, and by what decrée or public order he had been declared an enemy? To which he made no answer. I was then desired to deliver up my papers, which I refused to do, although I had none which could possibly compromise myself or any other person; but I vehemently protested against the lawless violence with which I was treated. My resistance, however, was useless, for by the order of the marquis I was seized by three gens d'armes, and minutely searched in his presence; every part of my carriage and effects were also carefully examined, as were the person and baggage of my servant.

While these atrocities were committing I observed to the marquis and to the commissary of police, that they could not be aware of the consequence of these wanton outrages upon an innocent Englishman, whose papers were so perfectly regular and unexceptionable. I said I should

certainly meet with protection from Lord Exmouth, who in quality of British commander in chief at Marseilles, would undoubtedly examine my case, and not connive at my being punished, perhaps murdered, unheard. The marquis noticed this only by a contemptuous sneer, and I was seized by the gens d'armes, who *bound my arms* with the straps of their carbines, and dragged me through the town for more than a mile in a most violent rain without my hat, which they had kept to examine. Having at length arrived at the prison, I was led through several low passages with innumerable iron doors and grates and massy bolts, and safely lodged in a stone cell seven feet square. My servant, as I afterwards learnt, was placed in another cell at no great distance from mine. Here the doors were all closed upon me, and I was left *without light or food*, of which I stood much in need. At about midnight I was visited by the gaoler, who informed me that according to the regulations of the prison I could only be provided with bread and water, and straw to lay on; but that if I felt inclined to pay well for it he would furnish me with better food and a mattress. Of course I agreed to his terms, and after taking some refreshment retired to rest. In the middle of the night I was awoke by the noise of unfastening the bolts and locks of the doors which led towards my cell, the door of which was presently opened and my bed surrounded by gens d'armes and gaolers. I

immediately conjectured that I was destined to share the fate of many other innocent persons who had been assassinated by these Marseillian ruffians; and my only hope was that I might be able to possess myself of one of their weapons and sell my life as dearly as possible. I was, however, mistaken; for after *having made me walk naked about my cell*, and having searched my boots and clothes, the fiends left me.

Several days now elapsed without my seeing any other person than my gaoler, who was as rough a Cerberus as ever had the custody of similar gates. I was *refused pen, ink, paper, fire, candle, knife and fork, or any thing metallic, except a leaden spoon, and I was neither allowed to shave myself or to be shaved.*

On the 27th of October, my first examination took place.—I was conducted to a distant part of the prison, and ushered into a small room, the door of which was guarded by gens d'armes with fixed bayonets. Here I found assembled the three commissioners charged with my examination. The special commissary of police, Rossiez, a colonel of gens d'armes, and an aide-de-camp of the Marquis de Riviere, who acted as *rapporteur*. I was [redacted] at the table, every scrap of paper which had been in my possession was now produced, and I was required to identify them separately.

On their commencing to interrogate me as to my life and conduct *from the time of my birth*,

I desired to be informed what crime was imputed to me, and I received for answer that I must conform to the rules of the police, *if ever I wished to re-behold the light of the sun.* I now most solemnly protested against this impious inquisitorial system, particularly as it was applied to me, not only an Englishman without charge of offence, but in violation of the laws of nations, as I was employed in the most sacred of all duties, and protected moreover by authentic credentials and passports. I however proceeded to inform the inquisitors, that to remove every pretext for mystery, and to convince them I had nothing to conceal, I would consent to give them any explanation they might desire. They then proceeded to re-interrogate me with the utmost minuteness concerning my life and actions, from the time of my birth to that day. The absurdity of some of their questions afforded me not a little amusement, and I could not refrain from occasionally smiling at them. I accounted for all my papers, and for every part of my public and private conduct in the most clear and satisfactory manner, and after having done so, I observed to the inquisitors, that they could no longer have any [redacted] my writing to Lord Exmouth, whose interference and protection I felt confident of obtaining. The commissary and colonel both answered with a sneer, that they had not the slightest objection to my writing to Lord Exmouth, and added, that I had better at the same time

write to the Duke d'Angouleme, who was at that very time in Marseilles. I immediately wrote to Lord Exmouth, the Marquis de Riviere, and the Duke d'Angouleme, and consigned my letters to the care of the aide-de-camp, who engaged to have them safely delivered. I have not been able to preserve a copy of either of my letters to the two last named personages, but they were both similarly worded. To Lord Exmouth I gave a general outline of my case, and as *an Englishman* claimed his protection, so far as to have the power of relating to him my story—I begged him to examine into my character and conduct, to have me tried and hung if I deserved it, but not to suffer me to be punished, not only without defence and conviction, but even *accusation.*

The next day I was visited by the aide-de-camp, who assured me, that he had seen my letters to Lord Exmouth and the Duke D'Angouleme delivered by the Marquis de Riviere himself on the preceding evening at the theatre.

On the 1st of November, I received the following letter from Lord Exmouth:

Boyne, off Marseilles, 1st November, 1815.

SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, *and not having had the honour of any previous communication with you*, I cannot forbear to express my SURPRIZE, that under this

consideration *you should now call upon me for protection.* I have just had a conference with the Marquis de Riviere, from whom I learn that your request to proceed to Paris will be complied with.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) EXMOUTH.

To Colonel Macirone, &c. &c. &c.

My readers may easily imagine what my sensations were on the receipt of this letter. If his lordship did not think it right to interfere in my behalf, he might at least have told me so in inoffensive terms, but to excuse himself from interference on the ground of my not having sooner communicated with him, *knowing as he did that from the first moment of my arrival at Marseilles, I had been a close prisoner, denied all intercourse with society, and deprived of the use of pen, ink, and paper*, was a mockery which might have been spared his own dignity and my feelings. If it had happened that I had not availed myself of the first opportunity to communicate with Lord Exmouth, (and I might not have thought it necessary in passing through Marseilles, to communicate with his lordship at all, had I met with no impediment on my journey;) if I had even been guilty of a slight breach of etiquette towards his lordship, is he prepared to say that this would have been a *justifiable reason* for his re-

fusing to *protect a British subject* against the violent outrage and persecution of which I complained? But it appears by his lordship's letter, that he had "just had" a conference with the Marquis de Riviere, from whom he had learnt that my request to proceed to Paris would be complied with; from which I suppose it was intended I should infer that his lordship had interfered in my behalf. What the nature of this interference might have been I know not, but it obtained for me not the permission of proceeding *unmolested* on my journey, as the language might imply, but the special favour of being sent forward (with my own carriage indeed, and at my own expense) in the custody of two persons appointed by the police. After I received the letter from Lord Exmouth, I heard that a British consul had arrived at Marseilles, and I wrote with a pencil on some blank leaves which I tore from a book, three notes, which I addressed to the English consul. These I attached to the end of a rod and projected through my double grating, and contrived to drop into a passage which I had conjectured was a public thoroughfare. The papers, it seems, fell into the hands of a sentinel, who was placed under my grating, and on the following day I was deprived of my books.

It must not, however, be supposed that the system of moral torture which I was enduring is sanctioned by the laws of France. *Torture of every spe-*

cies was abolished by Louis 16th, and that sovereign ratified the decree of the National Convention, which protected the subject from arbitrary arrest and illegal detention, by a clause which obliged the magistrates to release all persons who could not be legally committed, according to prescribed form of examination, within twenty-four hours after seizure.

This same decree authorized the accused to have the assistance of an advocate during the examination, and intercourse with his relations and friends.

The Code Napoleon cancelled *none* of these stipulations in favour of the accused. The most strained construction of the spirit or letter of the enactments of that code, cannot elicit warrant for the practice of immuring a *suspected* person in a solitary dungeon; separating him from his wife, children, and connections, *depriving him of all legal assistance, regulating his treatment and diet so as to promote the subjection of his mind by languor of body*, until the victim, prostrated by the treatment sacrifices his duty as a citizen to the impulse of his affections, and frequently has been obliged to frustrate the restoration of social endearment, by confessions which place future liberty and life at the disposal of the persecutors.

Now charges are never communicated to the prisoner until his *own confessions* have enabled the judge of instruction to draw out the warrant, and the prisoner is then sent to trial with *a record of self-condemnation*, and the preliminary process of inter-

rogatories, in which *power* and *subtlety* have exerted every means to intimidate and confound.

Modern justice in France seems to have no object but *to destroy*. And since loss of life was found to be desired by some unhappy men, as a relief from so much suffering as France was enduring, words and forms introduced in the *Code Napoleon* to *inspire terror*, but which had never been accompanied by deed, supplied the bloody authority for mutilations antecedent to death.*

The lessons of adversity are said to humanize the heart; but alas! she has found some too impenetrable to her tears or her philosophy.

The course of proceeding in the French system of judicature as at present practised is as follows:

1st. The accused suspected or devoted person, is arrested without assigned motive, either by word or writing.

2d. Detention in solitude, until so much offence is admitted as the judge thinks sufficient to justify the issue of the warrant for detention, and afford means for the conduct of the prosecution.

3d. Permission to communicate in public with counsel and friends, but no security against seizure

* The hands of Tolleron, Plignier, and Carbonnau were successively cut off, before the axe was suffered to terminate the miseries of one of the unhappy culprits.

of memoranda and papers necessary for the defence of the accused.*

4th. Admission of written depositions from parties turning king's evidence, *although those same parties have been removed by the police to deprive the accused of the right guaranteed by the law to cross-examine them in court.*†

5th. Examination of the accused in court *by the judges in the spirit of counsel against the prisoner!*‡

6th. In case of a verdict of acquittal, remand of prisoner for one month, on the plea that the *Procureur du Roi* may consider whether he will move for a new trial, when no such intention existed or could exist.‖

In this analysis of the abuses of *the law* in France, no notice has been taken of the preliminary *arbi-*

* This practice is constant, and when an Englishman was in prison (Mr. Smith) all the notes with which he was preparing his defence, were seized and sent to the King's attorney general to enable him to frame his prosecution by them!! But Mr. Smith's courage was not to be subdued, and the vengeance of the French government was finally baffled.

† Vide proof in the State Trials.

‡ Every Englishman who attended proceedings at the French tribunals, has been disgusted at such shameless abuse of the judicial functions and character.

‖ The cases of acquittal are rare, but this is the practice in all cases connected with opinion.

trary operations of the police, which are under no cognizance but those of the minister of that department.

This horrible engine of despotism, which respects no statute, no moral obligation, and none of the decencies of society; which withers honour, blasts confidence, and crushes all individual liberty; which *generates and nourishes* crime for "*scaffold proofs*" of its vigilance, and *renegade royalty*, which is the horror of France and the reproach of the age, has at length lanced a parricide sting against the parent bosom of the *ultras*, and the complaints of a Mr.* Robert, styling himself a *Fidel Ami du Roi*, "*quand même!*" as well as the editor of a paper bearing that title, has excited an attention which the previous wrongs of above a hundred thousand men could not engage.*

Happy England! who still possesses the palladi-

* A report has been made by the minister of police, Des Cazes, to the Chamber of Deputies, in which he pretends that only three hundred and fifty persons have been arrested by his authority since the return of the king. There may be some trick of words, some subtlety of legal terms and forms to bear out this declaration, but the fact is indisputable, that above one hundred and forty thousand persons have been taken up in France since the epoch stated. I appeal to Messrs. Wilson, Bruce, and Hutchinson, if *above seven thousand prisoners* did not enter *La Force* during the time of their confinement, coming from the prisons of the Prefecture of Police; and if *above one hundred and forty* in one night were not occasionally sent? I appeal to all the Englishmen who visited these gentlemen, or who have since had the opportunity of inspecting the French

um of public and private liberty, in the right of petitions, the bill of Habeas Corpus, and the liberty of the press, but much wronged England, in having been made the founder and Janissary guard of a tyranny more odious, because under the designation of "*Legitimate*," it mocks the understanding as well as the rights of mankind!

Having failed in my attempt to inform the British consul of my situation, and the extraordinary letter of Lord Exmouth having precluded all hope of his interference in my behalf, I regarded resistance as fruitless, and submitted with resignation to the tyranny of my persecutors. I must, however, not omit to mention a circumstance which aggravated my misfortune, by making me the instrument of injury to others.

In passing through Marseilles on my way to Toulon, I had been accosted by a gentleman who having known me at Naples, kindly made me a tender of his services.—I inserted his name and address in my pocket-book. This address being discovered by the inquisitors, I was questioned as to the cause of my having it in my possession.*

prisons in Paris, or in the departments, if the prisons were not choked with victims? The truth is, that where Napoleon arrested one, Louis has arrested fifteen or even more.

Let *legitimacy*, for its honour, contradict this statement with proofs, if it can.

* I was forced to account most minutely for every word or line of writing that was found upon me or amongst my effects.

I explained the circumstance, and while I was doing so I observed M. Rossiez, the commissary of the police, say something to the colonel of the gens d'armes, and I distinctly heard the colonel reply that he would give orders for his being arrested that night. I afterwards learnt that my courteous friend at Marseilles, merely in consequence of his name being found in my pocket-book had been arrested, and kept *upwards of a month in close* confinement.

A *young actress of Toulon*, whose name and address were also found in the same unlucky pocket-book, shared a similar fate.

I had now been confined between two and three weeks with almost undiminished rigor; for although I had obtained the special privilege of burning the lights which I had provided for my carriage lamps, and purchasing a breakfast and a hot dinner at the expence of about a Napoleon a day, I still was denied the use of any other implement than a leaden spoon. The weather was extremely cold, and being without fire I was obliged in order to keep myself warm to measure perpetually, until I was giddy, the five short steps which I was enabled to take from corner to corner of my cell.

The latter period of my confinement at Marseilles was rendered particularly dreary by the knowledge I then had of the unhappy fate of him on whose account I was suffering. No sooner had the news of King Joachim's murder reached Mar-

seilles, than the Marquis de Riviere hastened to dispatch his aid-de-camp to my dungeon with the intelligence. This aid-de-camp was the man who officiated as *rapporteur* to the commissioners charged with my examination. He had all along evinced the greatest rancour towards me, and he now entered with savage exultation into a minute account of King Joachim's death, reading to me a part of the letter, which in his last moments he addressed to his wife and children. It will not appear surprising that I should have been deeply affected by the recital; not being able to suppress my emotion I gave vent to my tears, which drew from this dastardly aid-de-camp an observation "that he who "could feel so much affliction at the just punishment "of a traitor, could not himself be otherwise than "a very bad subject" (*un fort mauvais sujet.*)

I think it was about the 10th November, that I was summoned to be ready by midnight to set out for Paris. I enquired whether my servant would not be allowed to accompany me, as I presumed there was no cause of complaint against him, but to my great surprise, I was answered by the aid-de-camp in the negative—who allowed that my servant had given a very satisfactory account of himself *for the last eight years of his life*, but that *previously* his character and conduct were *not quite clear!!* This anecdote must appear highly improbable to those who are not acquainted with that iniquitous system which I have already de-

scribed, but it is strictly true; and in perfect conformity with the general spirit of its proceedings.

When the time fixed for my departure arrived, I was conducted from the prison gate to my carriage through a double file of soldiers. A captain of the national guards and a serjeant of gens d'armes were ordered by the Marquis de Riviere to attend me in my journey. These persons were rendered responsible for my safe delivery into the hands of the minister of police at Paris. During the journey I had every reason to be satisfied with the politeness and courtesy of the former, and the latter was only a disagreeable travelling companion on account of his enormous bulk, being more than six feet five inches high, and of a proportionate breadth.—Although I was still a prisoner, yet I derived considerable enjoyment from breathing the fresh air, and from the sight of the country through which I passed.—To heighten my enjoyment, I took an early opportunity of ridding myself of my beard, which I had not been able to do once during my confinement.—On my journey, I, however, lost my portmanteau, containing about fifty pounds in gold, and this loss made me feel that there was seldom happiness without alloy.

On my arrival at Paris I was immediately taken before the minister of police, De Cazes. The *proces verbal* of my inquisitorial examinations at Marseilles, together with all my papers were before him. I addressed him with the assurance and self-

possession of an innocent man, and requested him to inform me of the nature of the crime which had been laid to my charge.—He evidently felt at a loss how to answer me, or upon what point to attack me, and instead of replying to my questions, he asked me in an authoritative tone, *how I had dared to take charge of two hundred thousand francs, which he said the Duke of Otranto (Fouché) who was the minister of police at the time of my leaving Paris, had given me in gold to convey to King Joachim?* Secondly, how I came to be possessed of three Corsican poignards and of a paper of horrid poison, (corrosive sublimate as he termed it) which were, with the exception of the gold, found with my baggage? It was easy for me to perceive that the charges here implied had originated in the secret insinuations of the Marquis de Riviere, as no such ridiculous attempt had been made at Marseilles in the interrogatories which were put to me there. I very well remembered, that in the investigation of my papers, a small packet of *calomel* was found, which was opened, examined and thrown aside; but I recollected that I some time afterwards saw the aid-de-camp who was *rapporteur* to the commissioners, clandestinely, and as he thought unperceived, put the paper of *calomel* into his pocket.

Although I felt the greatest difficulty in refraining from laughing in the minister's face, still I proceeded to answer these unlooked for charges with calmness. I assured the minister, and I now *so*

lemnly declare the truth to be, that *I did not receive a single franc from Fouché or any other person, to convey to King Joachim, although* I might have considered myself authorized to accept of such a commission, if it had been proposed to me by a person so high in office as the French minister of police.—I further observed, that as to the poignards and poison, I had purchased the former in Corsica as curiosities, they being of exquisite workmanship, and that the latter, as his excellency might easily ascertain, was *calomel*, of which I occasionally took a small portion in travelling.

After a long conversation, the minister finding that these paltry accusations had not even a shadow of foundation, candidly informed me, that the Emperor of Austria, in having agreed to permit King Joachim to reside in his dominions, had acted contrary to the *views and policy* of the *French government*, and that I had rendered myself obnoxious by the part I had taken in that measure.

It will be readily supposed that I did not fail to observe to M. De Cazes, that if the generous offer to which he referred had really been so odious to His Most Christian Majesty, he might easily have opposed it while the measure was in agitation in the council of the ministers of the allied powers, at *which Prince Talleyrand assisted*;—that I had been but the mere bearer of the conditions which were offered, and the odium, if any, ought to fall upon *Prince Metternich* and the *Duke of Wel-*

lington, who first proposed the measure: to which M. De Cazes answered, "that I had been "its original promoter."

As it was now evident that M. De Cazes could not substantiate any charge against me, I concluded that my sufferings were at an end.—However, during my conversation with him, a person entered the room in which we were, and I was desired to step for a moment into an adjoining apartment, where to my great surprise I found several gens-d'armes, who immediately carried me to the prison of the Conciergerie, where I was again thrown into *solitary* confinement. My first step was to write to Sir Charles Stuart and to Prince Metternich, and the gaoler undertook to deliver my letters to the prefect of police, who he assured me would hold himself bound to forward them to their respective addresses. I soon, however, had ocular proof that the letters were not sent. The malicious farce of interrogating me was repeated, and my first examination took place at the Conciergerie, when the usual preliminary questions were put concerning my birth, name and profession. The person charged with the proceeding, persisted in describing me as a field officer in the Neapolitan service. This attempt I successfully opposed—alleging that my former military rank had been entirely subservient to the higher qualification of aid-de-camp to the King of Naples, which function would at all events have ceased with the king's overthrow

and death, if I had not *previously* resigned it from a sense of duty, as soon as England commenced hostilities against Naples.—I was now reproached with having made use of very intemperate and disrespectful language in animadverting upon the conduct of the French government towards me, as well as concerning the general proceedings of the French police. This accusation surprised me, as I was much at a loss to conceive to whom I could possibly have made these offensive remarks, having been confined *au sécrét* from the first moment of my arrest, and some two or three words addressed to my gaoler having been the full extent of my conversation. The cause of this reproach, however, immediately occurred to me on my perceiving amongst some papers which were on the table the copy of the letter I had addressed to Lord Exmouth, and the letters I had so recently written to Sir C. Stuart and to Prince Metternich.—The former had been taken from me on my arrival in Paris, the two latter had been retained and opened by the police. As soon as I recognised my writing in these papers, I took them off the table for the purpose of perusing them—the police agent sprang forward to rescue them : a kind of momentary struggle ensued, and I replaced them on the table, a glance being sufficient to apprize me of the source from which the accusation of disrespectful expressions was derived ; I then told this member of the French police, that my letters had been addressed to my free-born country.

men, whose official duty it was to assert the rights of the defenceless and oppressed, and that if they had been intercepted, and submitted to the perusal of those who were unaccustomed to the language of truth and independent remonstrance the fault was not mine. The gentleman took my remarks very goodnaturedly, probably concurring in my sentiments, or making allowance for my situation. He, however, could not refrain from observing, that the system and policy through which I had been imprisoned and persecuted were evidently approved of by some of those *free-born Englishmen*, whom I had said were bound in duty to investigate my case. "*If it were not so*," said he, "*why did* "*Lord Exmouth refuse even to hear you, as from* "*the letter which is now before me, I find he* "*did, when you claimed his protection at Mar-* "*seilles ! ! !*"—After undergoing the formality of two or three interrogatories in the Conciergerie, I was transferred to the prison of the Abbaye, where I was likewise placed *au sécrét*.

My friends at Paris were at a loss to know what had become of me, some thought me shipwrecked, others that I had been assassinated by the *loyal* inhabitants of the Bouches du Rhone, and in truth, it is probable that to this day they might have been ignorant of my fate, had I not fortunately found means to acquaint Sir Charles Stuart with my unhappy situation.

On my being established in my new abode, I

requested the gaoler to send to my apartments at the Hotel de Bourbon, and desire my servant, who I had left in Paris, to bring me a pair of slippers which were amongst my things at the hotel. The slippers were brought, but I was not allowed to see the bearer. My faithful and affectionate servant, overjoyed to find that I was still amongst the living, ran round to all my friends and acquaintances to inform them of his discovery. I had the good fortune to find in my room at the Abbaye, a piece of paper, with a pencil I wrote a short note to Sir Charles Stuart, and raising the inner sole of one of the slippers, I put the note under it, and replaced it smoothly. The next day I desired the gaoler to return the slippers to my servant, under the pretence that they were too small for me. The stratagem succeeded; it occurred to my servant, who knew very well that the slippers were of the right size, to examine them, and he found the note, which he immediately delivered to Sir Charles Stuart.

The British ambassador had the kindness to make instantaneous application to the French government, in order to ascertain the cause of my imprisonment, the immediate effect of which interference was, to relieve me from the *solitary* part of my confinement. I was now allowed intercourse with the other prisoners, and to communicate with my servant; but with the malicious view of prolonging my imprisonment as much as possible, the minister of police continued for three weeks to give to the repeated reclamations

of Sir Charles Stuart in my behalf, the most evasive and inconclusive answers, and even had recourse to an assertion, which *he knew to be false*, but which he thought would at least answer the purpose of delay. He assured Sir Charles Stuart, that I had no right to his protection, as I was not an Englishman but born at Rome. Sir Charles was so good as to send me copies of the minister's answers to him, which will be found in the Appendix.*

From the second letter of M. De Cazes to Sir Charles Stuart, of the 24th November, 1815, it will be seen that I was claimed by the Neapolitan ambassador in the name of the King of the Two Sicilies, but what was the precise motive for this intervention, I cannot determine.

During the latter part of my confinement, it was indirectly hinted to me, that the police expected information from me as the price of my liberty.—What might be the nature of the required information I was not told, except that it was suggested to me, I must be acquainted with the fact of large sums of money being deposited in Paris, which had belonged to King Joachim, and I was expected to direct the police in the seizure of them. To this I answered, I was totally ignorant of the existence of any such sums ; but at the same time I declared, that if I possessed the knowledge, I would set all their threats and torments at defiance, rather than

* See Appendix (H) and (I).

be accessary to an act of injustice and rapacity, by which the widow and children of King Joachim would be deprived of their lawful property.

In the mean time Sir Charles Stuart persisted in demanding my liberation, unless some crime could be laid to my charge; and as the minister of police could not accuse me even of the slightest indiscretion, he was at length obliged to release me, but ordered me to quit Paris in twenty-four hours, at the same time informing me that he thought proper to keep possession of my papers, my carriage,* and of part of my arms.

Prince Metternich had now left Paris, so that I could neither solicit his protection, nor obtain the reimbursement of between seven and eight thousand francs which I had expended in executing the mission with which he had intrusted me.

During the short time allowed me for making preparations for my departure, I waited on Sir Charles Stuart, who was fully acquainted with my case. He allowed that I had been treated *in the most unjust and arbitrary manner*, but he strongly advised me not to remain any longer in Paris, lest, as he said, the French government, which had most unjustly taken me *en gripe*, *should send*

* As a pretext for keeping my carriage, which *was newly built in London*, the minister falsely asserted, that it had belonged to King Joachim. I could have produced at least ten witnesses to prove that I had received it in exchange for another from the Count de Beaufremont.

me to some distant place of confinement, from whence my complaints could never reach him. I also waited on the Duke of Wellington, but did not see him.

The day after my liberation, I received a note requesting my attendance on the minister of police. The following morning I waited upon him, and found him in company with his private secretary, M. Menars. After some preliminary conversation, he informed me in a very mild and affable tone, that *he had received accounts from Corsica and the south of France, which completely convinced him of the injustice of the charges brought against me, and that I was at liberty to remain at Paris as long as I chose.* I thought this a fair opportunity to learn the nature of these pretended charges, but I could gain no satisfaction on the subject.

During the previous conversation, M. Menars had asked me whether I had heard any thing particular at Lyons or in the south. I told him I had heard the Austrians were favouring the claims of the young Napoleon, and that I had understood this support had been the occasion of the late disturbances in that city. The minister and secretary now assumed an air of the greatest complacency and familiarity, and after a few words between themselves in a whisper, M. Menars continued to converse with me.

The minister seated himself at a desk in a small adjoining room, the door of which was open.

M. Menars asked me whether after the capitulation of Paris I had not been promised a conspicuous military appointment in the service. I answered in the affirmative, but observed that it was *unsolicited on my part*, and that I had abandoned every prospect, in order to execute Prince Metternich's mission.* "*Yes*," *said he*, "*I am well* "*acquainted with this circumstance, which does you* "*honour*, and I have no doubt but we can get you "an appointment immediately: in the mean time "you must *make yourself useful*, you know we "can never do too much for a government from "which we expect favours. Pray do you know of "any Frenchman being implicated in these in- "trigues at Lyons? Has Fouché any hand in "them?" I assured him that I was totally unacquainted with the particulars of the transaction: he continued. "Indeed, Mr. Macirone, you "might be very useful to us; you have many "friends in Paris; you frequent some of the first "circles. You have been too much persecuted "by us to be suspected of being our friend; "besides you are an Englishman, you can be well "with all parties; you must frequent the Duke "of Wellington's, Sir C. Stuart's; you have had "intercourse with them both, ever since the "capitulation of Paris. By the by, do you know

* It is to this appointment, which was *offered me*, that De Cazes maliciously alludes in his letter (I).

" Sir Robert Wilson, and Lord Sligo, what are " they doing here? are they not of the opposition? " You may, I assure you, render us the greatest " services, and you will not have to accuse us of " ingratitude."

I was so indignant at these proposals, that I scarcely knew how to conduct myself. I thought it necessary, however, to act with caution in the hope of gaining possession of my papers, amongst which was the bill for 40,000 francs, which had been given by King Joachim.

During this conversation, the minister, who was seated at his desk, but near enough to hear every word, appeared to be perusing some papers.—M. Menars now approached him, and they conversed together in a whisper for some minutes, he then returned to me, and resumed the conversation by a very singular question. " What," said he, " do " you think of Prince Metternich?" I answered him, that his excellency, pointing to M. De Cazes, must certainly know more of him than I did. —That for my part I only know him as prime minister to His Majesty the Emperor of Austria. " But," said he, " what do you think of his in- " timacy with Fouché?—They were very intimate " when the latter was minister of police, and I " believe they have still frequent communication." I answered it had never appeared to me that the Duke of Otranto had been on better terms with Prince Metternich than with the Duke of

Wellington, Sir Charles Stuart, and Lord Castlereagh, who all frequented his house and table, and he theirs. " But," said M. Menars, " it " would appear by the share which you had in " the capitulation of Paris, that in many respects " you enjoyed the confidence of Fouché, you " must consequently be able to give us some " information concerning his present connections." In this particular I assured him I was totally incapable of satisfying him, M. Menars again privately conversed with the minister, and then proceeded to question me concerning a most extraordinary occurrence, of which I have never been able to learn any thing further. He began by asking me whether I was at all acquainted with the circumstances of the death of Berthier, Prince of Neufchatel.* I answered I had heard he had not met his death by accident, as had been reported, but that I was ignorant by whose order he had been put to death,† or the cause of the order. On my appearing to be acquainted with the fact of Berthier's having been murdered, M. Menars expected that I should be

* It will be remembered that Berthier was said to have met his death by accidentally falling from a window in 1814, whilst viewing the passage of a body of Russian troops.

† I had learnt the simple fact of his having been *wilfully* put to death, from a personage of great power and celebrity in France, and who was undoubtedly the most likely person in the world, except those who committed the act, to be acquainted with all the particulars.

able to furnish him with the particulars of his death, with which he appeared to be quite unacquainted. With an air of the greatest seriousness he informed me, that about (as I think he said) October or November of the preceding year, *a great personage had died at Paris, under circumstances of the greatest mystery, privacy, and suspicion. That his death, &c. had been witnessed, and at that time had been known, only to two individuals.* He added that the DEATH OF THIS PERSONAGE AND THE MURDER OF BERTHIER WERE MOST PARTICULARLY CONNECTED, AND THAT ONE WAS THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE OTHER.* The minister then called M. Menars to him, who returning to me immediately said, "Can you give me any information concerning this affair? Since you seem "to know that Berthier did not meet his death "accidentally, you most probably know much "more." I assured him it was with that circumstance alone I was acquainted, and that his account of the other mysterious death was perfectly new to me. M. Menars now earnestly recommended me to do my utmost to obtain information on the subject, assuring me that I should be amply remunerated for my services. I answered him in general terms, that I should be very happy to render any service in

* This appears to be a very extraordinary story. I give it in the words as nearly as I can recollect them, in which it was communicated to me by M. Menars.

my power to His Majesty the King of France: an answer which I gave to avoid directly breaking with him, in order if possible to gain time to settle my affairs in Paris, and recover my papers and bill.

I now took leave of the minister and M. Menars, who renewed his assurance that I had it in my power to render the government the most essential services, and I was requested to call on the minister in a day or two. It will not, I hope, be supposed that I felt any other sentiments than scorn and resentment at these overtures of the French minister to engage me as a spy. I had, however, received an *unequivocal acknowledgment of my innocence and of the injustice which had been done me by the French government*, and therefore I naturally expected at any rate to regain immediate possession of my property, which having obtained, and my affairs in Paris being settled, I proposed instantly to return to England, and await opportunity to vindicate the wrongs and insults I had experienced.

On my leaving the house of M. De Cazes I waited a second time on Sir Charles Stuart, to inform him of the permission which I had just received to remain in Paris during my pleasure. Sir Charles was, however, still of opinion that it would be prudent for me to quit France, as soon as possible, which I assured him was my intention, but that it would take me some days to settle my private affairs. I now felt very much at a loss how to conduct myself towards the French minister at my next

interview. What could I say to him? how avoid coming to an open declaration (before I had recovered my bill,) that I abhorred the despicable office with which he attempted to invest me? I therefore looked forward to it with feelings of great embarrassment.

The day after my interview with M. De Cazes I went to St. Cloud, where I remained three days. On the fourth I returned to Paris, and the next evening I received a note from M. Menars, in the name of the minister, requesting my attendance on the following morning. I waited upon the minister accordingly, who on my arrival had left the room, leaving M. Menars to inform me that I must positively quit Paris in twenty-four hours, and the French territory in ten days. Upon this unexpected declaration I asked what crime I had committed, since the minister had assured me I was entirely blameless, and might remain at Paris as long as I pleased? He answered me by declaring that M. De Cazes had no share in the adoption of this measure towards me. That it had been resolved upon by his *Majesty himself and by the council of ministers, of which the Duke de Richelieu was president!* M. Menars further informed me that the government had determined to keep possession of my papers, *with the bill for* 40,000 *francs*, but that my carriage would be restored to me.

I now waited again upon Sir C. Stuart, who advised me to leave France *without a moment's delay*, but kindly assured me that he would spee-

dily obtain my papers and bill from the French government.

I was thus obliged to quit Paris in the greatest haste, and my affairs being in confusion, I suffered considerable loss in addition to those I had before sustained. I arrived in England about the latter end of last December, and after waiting a month without receiving any communication from Sir C. Stuart respecting my property, I addressed a memorial to Lord Castlereagh, in which I entered into an explanation of my cruel case, praying that he would be pleased to obtain the restitution of my papers, and particularly of my bill, which the French government could not have the slightest ground for detaining. I moreover solicited the honour of a short interview with his lordship, when I should be able to explain myself more fully on any point which in my memorial, for the sake of brevity, I might not have sufficiently detailed. My memorial was delivered in January last, to Mr. Planta, who, as he assured me, duly consigned it to Lord Castlereagh; and from that period, I attended at the Foreign Office most unremittingly for *the space of six months without obtaining any answer from Lord Castlereagh**.

* During this period, I had several conversations with Mr. Hamilton, the under secretary of state at the Foreign Office, in one of which he took occasion to inform me, that he thought I had merited, by my interference in King Joachim's behalf, the treatment I had received from the French government, and he

At the end of January, I had the honour to receive a letter* from Sir C. Stuart, enclosing me a communication which he had received from M. De Cazes†; and in the month of March, Mr. Hamilton, at the intercession of a friend, promised to write to Sir C. Stuart, to solicit the renewal of his remonstrances with the French government in my favour. I continued, however, to haunt the waiting-room at the Foreign Office for *three months longer*, without any answer to my memorial, or any result, till at length some friends of mine happening to be at Paris, joined their solicitations to those of Mr. Clermont, of the house of Perrigaux, Lafitte, and Co.; and on the 5th June, I received intelligence from the British ambassador, that the bill for 40,000 francs had been given up to him,‡ but *that all my other papers and documents were retained by the French government.*

The restoration of my bill was, however, attended with no benefit. The injustice of my enemies still triumphed, for at the time that I was informed of the recovery, I received an account of its having

made some other observations which I do not feel myself at liberty to repeat, as they related to the conduct and opinions of some distinguished persons in this country.—But Mr. Hamilton did not at any time give me to understand that he was authorized by Lord Castlereagh to make any communication to me on the subject of my memorial.

* See Appendix (K).

† See Appendix (L).

‡ See Appendix (M).

been presented and refused payment by Mr. Barillon, the banker on whom it was drawn, for want of funds, the French *government having seized upon the sums with which he would have been enabled to pay the draft:* thus the malignant villainy of my persecutors was consummated, whilst they affected the semblance of a concession to the interference of the British ambassador.

I know the exposition of these details will not improve my fortunes; I have had too severe an experience that justice and power are not allied; but I flatter myself, that it will *transfer disgrace from the oppressed to the oppressors*, and engage an attention which may check a *repetition* of similar lawless outrages.

APPENDIX.

(A.)

Instructions from Lord William Bentinck, authorizing and directing the Proclamation of Italian Independence.

(Confidential.)

Messina, Nov. 29, 1813.

SIR,

YOU have been apprized by me of the nature of the expedition upon which the third Italians, and the detachment of the first Italians, are about to be employed under the orders of Lieut. Col. Catinelli. You will obey such orders as you receive from that officer.

I consider it necessary to repeat my verbal instructions of yesterday, that as soon as the troops are embarked, and are at sea, you will explain to the officers and men the object of the expedition. *The object is to raise on the western coast of Italy an Italian standard*, around which may rally all those Italian patriots, both civil and military, who may be desirous of effecting the deliverance *and independence of their country*. Noble and important to the future prosperity and greatness of Italy as is this undertaking, yet it cannot be concealed that the smallness of the force exposes it to considerable danger. I am anxious, therefore, that it should be attempted by volunteers only, and that all who are unwilling to make the effort may be left in the ships. You will shew this

instruction to Lieut.-Col. Catinelli, and to Sir Josias Rowley, commanding the maritime part of the expedition.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
W. C. BENTINCK,
Lieut.-Gen.

Lieut.-Col. Ceravigna,
commanding Third Italian Levy.

(B.)

Ordine del giomo di Sua Altezza reale Il Principe Vicario Generale.

BRAVI e fedeli mici soldati; ecco giunto l'istante che andate a metter piede in Italia vostra comune patria, per cooperare coi vostri travagli alla grande opera della sua liberazione. La fedeltà da voi mostratami nel seguire costantemente la causa del Ré mio augusto padre, vostro legitimo sovrano, mi é una garanzia che non dimenticherete mai di riguardarlo per vostro unico sovrano a Rè, *e che non avendo egli giammai renunziato al suo regno di Napoli*, riguard.. sempre voi per suoi sudditi fedeli, siccome quale vostro amoroso padre, che sempre tale é stato il mio augusto genitore, vi riguarda come suoi amati figli *ugualmente che riguarderó sempre i Napolitani vostri fratelli.*

O bravi e fedeli miei soldati Siciliani! che reunite i vostri sforzi a quelli de' vostri confratelli sotto i nostri stendardi; pensate che colla vera liberazione della Italia, assicurarete la vostra libertà e la vostra esistenza politica, e vi renderete degni di quelle remunerazioni che

saranno proporzionate alla vostra fedeltà ed alla vostra bravura.

Palermo, 20 Febº. 1814.

Per ordine di S. A. R. il Principe Vicario Generale.
(Firmato) RUGGIERO STETTIMO.

(Translation.)

*Order of the Day of His Royal Highness the Prince Vicar General.**

MY brave and faithful Soldiers!—Behold the moment is arrived in which you are about to land in Italy, your common country, to co-operate by your labours in the great work of its delivery. The fidelity which you have evinced in constantly following the cause of the king, my august father and your legitimate sovereign, is to me a sufficient guarantee for your never forgetting to consider him as your only king and sovereign, *whilst he, having never renounced his rights to his kingdom of Naples*, will ever regard you as his faithful subjects with the feelings of a tender parent, for such my august father has ever been towards you. He considers you as his beloved sons, in like manner *as I shall constantly regard the Neapolitans as your brethren.*

My brave and faithful Sicilian soldiers! combine your efforts to those of your brethren united under our standards; remember, that, together with the real liberation of Italy, you will assure your own liberty and political existence, and you will render yourselves worthy of such remuneration as shall bear a just proportion to your fidelity and courage.

Palermo, Feb. 20, 1814.

By order of H. R. H. the Prince Vicar General.
(Signed) RUGGIERO SETTIMO.

* Eldest son of King Ferdinand of Sicily.

(C.)

Proclamation of Lord William Bentinck to the Italians.

(Translated from the Italian.)

Italians,

Great Britain has landed her troops on your shores, she comes to deliver you from the iron yoke of Bonaparte.

Portugal, Spain, Sicily, Holland, bear testimony to the liberal and disinterested principles which animate that power.

Spain, by her resolution, by her valour, and by the efforts of her great ally, has succeeded in her sublime enterprise. The French are expulsed from her territory. Her independence is secured, her civil liberty established.

Sicily, protected by the same power, has saved herself from the universal deluge; she has suffered nothing. Through the beneficent character of her prince, she has passed from slavery to liberty, and she hastens to revive her ancient splendor among independent nations.

Holland rushes forward with the same intent.

Will Italy alone remain under the yoke? Shall Italians only combat against Italians, in favour of a tyrant, and for the bondage of their country? Italians! hesitate no longer; *be Italians*: and *thou, army of Italy, know that the great cause of thy country is in thine own hands.* Warriors of Italy, we do not require you to unite yourselves to us; we ask of you to *maintain your own rights, and that you be free.*

Invite us, and we fly to join you; under our united forces, then will *Italy be again what, in her better times, she was*, and *what Spain is now become.!!!*

(Signed) W. BENTINCK,
Commander in Chief of the British Forces.

Leghorn, 14th March, 1814.

(D.)

Official Note of Lord Wm. Bentinck, transmitted to the King of Naples.

(Translation from the French.)

Bologna, April 1, 1814.

In case the Neapolitan government should require a confirmation in writing of the sentiments, that Lord Castlereagh has already verbally announced, confirmation that has not been demanded, it not being judged necessary, *the undersigned is authorised, officially, to declare—*

That the English government entirely approves of the treaty concluded between the Austrian government and the government of Naples; and that it consents to the addition of territory there specified, under the same conditions made by Austria,* of an active and immediate co-operation of the Neapolitan army; and that if the English government refuses to sign a treaty *in limine, it arises purely from motives of delicacy, and honour, which cannot agree to the sacrifice of the hereditary states of an ally, without an indemnity;* and the undersigned has orders in consequence, in virtue of which, he invites the Neapolitan government to make the greatest efforts for the same object.†

* The Marches of Ancona.

† Lord Castlereagh had added in his instructions to Lord William Bentinck, *that the British government would ratify the treaty with Joachim King of Naples, even though Ferdinand of Sicily should refuse the indemnity projected.* The Duke di Campochiaro, Neapolitan plenipotentiary at Congress, had received from Lord Castlereagh a copy of these instructions, which he had transmitted to King Joachim. The *omission of this original additional paragraph,* appeared to Joachim, either as a *change of original intention and stipulation,* or *as a symptom of hostile feeling* on the part of Lord William Bentinck, and therefore augmented his jealousies. The general tone of the memorandum was not indeed calculated to inspire confidence in the profes-

Such are the sentiments of the British government. It would be contrary to frankness of character in the undersigned, were he not to express his own opinion, that the hopes which gave birth to the treaty, have been unfortunately, too falsified. The principal object, for which the alliance was formed, and sacrifices made, the ready, and active co-operation of the Neapolitan army, has not been obtained. The Austrian army is still paralized on the Adige, whereas by the march of the Neapolitan army to the Upper Po, it would, long ago, have reached the Alps; negotiations, under the most suspicious circumstances, have been carried on with the enemy; and at the same time, the co-operation of the British army, which the Neapolitan government, if sincere, ought to wish for, more than any other of the allies, is rendered impossible, by the refusal made to it, of means for its safety and subsistence.

If such be the military line of conduct, its political conduct is not less inexplicable. The Neapolitan government engages its consent to all the arrangements of the allies in Italy, it begins by declaring that the different states should be immediately restored to their legitimate sovereigns; but, soon after, it declares officially, that these states shall be kept till the peace, and at the same time, an organized administration of these countries presents itself every where under the form of a permanent occupation; the agents and Neapolitan newspapers,

sions of a conciliatory disposition, especially as the king denied the allegations, and had the power, as he conceived, of recriminating against the proceedings of the allies, as has been shewn; but in justice, it must be stated, that the king had the highest confidence in the personal honour and integrity of Lord Wm. Bentinck, although he thought he preferred the interests of Ferdinand of Sicily; and to evince his respect for him, he sent him a costly diamond hilted sword, after the capture of Genoa, which was deemed worthy a transfer to H. R. H. the Prince Regent, as the king afterwards learnt, and which flattered him much.

discover views of ambition and aggrandizement, entirely contrary to the intentions of the allies; and which would not be free from objection, if even in this addition of power it shewed a loyal tendency, but which is certainly dangerous, when it is not yet known on which side this power ranges itself.

The undersigned is very far from presenting these remarks in a reproachful or hostile view, they are dictated by a friendly mind, and from a desire to see the intentions of the allies realized. The war still continues, and it is yet time to remove the doubts and discontent that may exist.

It is thus that the undersigned seriously recommends to the Neapolitan government, to effectuate an immediate and cordial co-operation with the Austrian forces, to furnish by a sacrifice of a portion of Tuscany to the British expedition, the means which are indispensably necessary for its co-operation, and which is due to the dignity of the British government; if it can be called a sacrifice, the cession of a country that belongs to another, it will be highly compensated by a mutual assistance and confidence.

A renunciation of all tendency to a separate policy, and above all to replace, without delay, the sovereign Pontiff on his see. The cruel treatment that this venerable personage has suffered, exalted by his edifying virtues, and his extraordinary firmness, have excited, as we have just seen, the greatest enthusiasm. If the conduct of him, who now governs France, in this respect, has caused, more than any other act of his life, the hatred of the world entire, it would be a very bad policy to oppose a measure acknowledged to be of the greatest consequence by all those who wished to see established, the grand basis of social order, religion and morality.

The undersigned has the honour to reiterate the sentiments of the highest consideration.

(Signed)

LORD WM. BENTINCK.

(E.)

MONSIEUR MACIRONE est autorisé par les presentes à prevenir le Roi Joachim que sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche lui accordera un asile dans ses états sous les conditions suivantes.

1. Le Roi prendra un nom de particulier. La Reine ayant pris celui de Comtesse de Lipona ; on le propose ègalement au Roi.

2. Il sera libre au Roi de choisir une ville de la Bohême, de la Moravie ou de la haute Autriche pour y fixer son sejour. S'il devait vouloir se fixer a la campagne cela ne souffrirait point de difficultés dans ces mêmes provinces.

3. Le Roi engagerá sa parole vis-a-vis de Sa Majesté Imperiale et Royale, qu'il ne quittera pas les états Autrichiens sans le consentement exprés de sa dite Majesté, et qu'il vivra dans l'attitude d'un particulier de marque, mais soumis aux loix en vigueur dans les états Autrichiens.

En foi de quoi et pour qu'il en soit fait l'usage convenable, le soussigné a eu l'ordre de l'Empereur de signér la presente declaration.

Donné a Paris, le 1er Septembre, 1815.

SIGNE LE PRINCE DE METTERNICH.

(F.)

Ajaccio, 28th Sept. 1815.

MONSIEUR MACIRONE, Envoyé des Puissances Alliées auprés du Roi Joachim. Je viens de prendre connoissances des pieces dont vous étes porteur. J'accepte le passeport que vous étes chargé de me remettre ; et je compte m'en servir pour me rendre à la destination qui y est fixée. Quant aux conditions que Sa Majesté Imperiale et Royale impose à l'offre d'un aisile en Autriche,

je me réserve de traiter cet article important à l'époque ou je serai reuni à ma famille.

La sommation peux mesurée qui m'a été addressée par M. le Capitaine de la Fregate de Sa Majesté Britannique, m'empêche d'accepter l'offre que vous me faites en son nom de me recevoir à son bord.

Persecuté, menacé même en Corse parceque on avoit pû me supposer des vues sur cette Isle, J'avois déja preparé mes moyens de départ. En effet je pars cette nuit. J'accepte avec plaisir les valets de chambre que vous vouléz bien me cédér.

Sur ce M. Macirone, je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait dans sa Sainte et digne garde.

(Signé à l'original) JOACHIM.

Pour Copie conforme, F. MACIRONE.

(G.)

Ajaccio, 28th Sept. 1815.

MONSIEUR MACIRONE, Envoyé des Puissances Alliées auprés du Roi Joachim. Ma premiere lettre d'aujourd hui à été dictée par les circonstances du moment. Maintenant je le dois à moi même, à la verité, et à votre noble franchise et bonne foi de vous instruire de mes veritables intentions.

J'apprecie ma liberté audessus de tout autre bien. La captivité n'a pour moi d'autre synonime que la mort. Quel traitement puis-je attendre des mains de ces puissances qui m'ont laissé pendant deux mois sous les poignards des assassins de Marseille! J'ai sauvé la vie au Marquis de Riviere. Il étoit condamné à perir sur l' echafaud; j'ai obtenu sa grace de l'Empereur. Execra

ble verité! il excitoit sécrétement ces miserables, c'est lui qui metoit ma tête à prix!! Errant dans les bois, caché dans les Montagns, je ne dois la vie qu'à la genereuse compassion que mes malheurs ont excité dans l'ame de trois officiers Français: ils m'ont transporté en Corse au plus grand peril de leur jours.

Des miserables pretendent que j'ai emporté de Naples de grands tresors; ne savent-ils pas que lorsque j'ai reçu ce Royaume en échange pour mon Grand Duché de Berg, que je possedois d'aprés un traité solemnel, j' y ai apporté des richesses immences?—Tout a été depensé pour le bien de mon Royaume de Naples!—Le Souvrain qui depuis est venu l'occuper l'a t-il reconnu ce pays? Je n'ai plus de quoi vivre moi et ma famille.

Je n'accepterois point, Monsieur Macirone, les conditions que vous êtes chargé de m'offrire. Je n' y vois qu'une abdication pure et simple sous la seule condition *qu'on me permettra de vivre,* mais dans une éternelle captivité soumis à l'action arbitraire des lois sous une gouvernement despotique. Ou est ici la moderation, la justice! y voit-on les egards dûs à un monarque malheureux qui a été formellement reconnu par toute l'Europe, et qui dans un moment bien critique a décidé la campagne de 1814 en faveur de ces mêmes Puissances qui maintenant contre leurs propres interets l'accablent du poids excessif de leur persecutions?

C'est une vérité bien reconnue que je n'ai repoussé les Autrichiens jusqu'au Pó que parceque à force d'intrigues on étoit parvenu à me persuader qu'ils se preparoient à m'attaquer, sans cependant la concurrence de l'Angleterre. J'ai jugé necessaire d'avancer ma ligne de defence et de gagner les peuples de mon coté.

Personne ne sait mieux que vous M. Macirone, ainsi que le Lord Bentinck lui même, que je ne fis ce fatal mouvement de rétraite que sur la déclaration de ce général qu'il se trouveroit dans le devoir de prêter son secours aux Autrichiens, puisqu'ils le lui avoient réclamié.

Vous connoissez les causes qui ont occasionée le désordre, et la desertion dans ma belle armée. Les faux bruits artistement rependus de ma mort; du débarquement des Anglais à Naples; la conduite du Général Pignatelli Strongoli; enfin la trahison de certains de mes officiers qui ont reussi avec un art perfide, à augmenter par leur exemple, et par leur discours, le decouragement et la désertion.

Il n' existe point à cette heure un individue de cette armée qui n'ait reconnu son erreur. Je pars pour les rejoindre. Ils brulent du desir de me revoir à leur tête. Ils m'ont conservé toutes leurs affections de même que chaque classe de mes biens aimés sujets. Je n'ai point abdiqué. J'ai le droit de reprendre ma couronne si Dieu m'en donne la force et les moyens. Ma presence sur le trone de Naples ne sauroit être maintenant un sujet de crainte; on ne peut plus me pretextir des liasons avec Napoléon qui est à St. Hélène; bien au contraire, et l'Angleterre, et l'Autriche pourront en tirér des avantages qu'ils attenderoient en vain du Souvrain qu'ils ont voulu mettre à ma place.

Je m'abbandonne à ces details, Monsieur Macirone, puisque c'est à vous que j'écris. Vos procedés envers moi, votre reputation, et votre nom, vous donnent des droits à ma franchise et à mon estime.

Vous ne sauriez mettre aucun obstacle à mon depart, quand même vous en auriéz l'envie.

Lorsqu'on vous remettra cette letre j'aurai deja fait bon chemin vers ma destination. Ou je reusserai, où je terminerai mes malheurs aveo ma vie. J'ai bravé mille et mille fois la mort en combattant pour ma patrie; ne me seroit-il pas permis de la dompter une fois pour nous même! Je fremis seulement pour le sort de ma famille.

Je me souviendrai toujours avec plaisir de la maniere noble et delicate dont vous vous êtes acquitté de votre mission auprés de moi. Elle contraste agreablement avec les procedés gratuitement grossiers et rèvoltans de

plusieurs autres personnes à mon égard, n'ayant ni les mêmes pouvoirs, ni la même consideration dont vous jouissez.

J'ai donné ordre pour que vos pieces vous soient rendues. Sur ce M. Macirone je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait dans sa Sainte et digne garde.

(Signé à l'originale) JOACHIM.

Pour Copie conforme, F. MACIRONE.

(II.)

(Copy.)

Paris, 24 Novembre, 1815.

MONSIEUR LE CHEVALIER, J'ai reçu la lettre que Votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 21 de ce mois au sujet du M. Macirone.

L'affaire de ce prisonnier s'instruit avec activité; et l'interet que Votre Excellence veut bien lui accorder sera pour moi un nouveau motif d'en hâter la conclusion. Je m'empresserai de lui faire connaitre la décision que pourra intervenir. Les renseignemens qu'il a fallu prendre encore, et la nature dela mission dans la quelle figure comme principal Agent M. Maceroni, expliquera les retards qui, jusques à ce jour ont empeché cette décision d'avoir lieu.

Agréez Mons. Le Chevalier, &c.

Le Ministre Secretaire d'Etat,

Au Departement de la Police Generale,

(Signé) DE CAZES.

Mons. Le Chev. Stuart.

P. S. Si ce M. Macirone n'avait fait que se rendre porteur de Depêches du Prince Metternich assurement aucun reproche ne lui seroit adressé; mais cette espèce de mission

parait en avoir concert avec autres sur les quels le Gouvernement a le droit d'exiger de lui des explications* qu'il ne peut refuser s'il est vrai comme il le pretend qu'il est de bonne foi ce qui est loin de ma pensée.

(Signè) DE CAZES.

(Translation.)

Paris, November 24, 1815.

SIR, I have received the letter which your Excellency did me the honour of writing to me the 21st inst. concerning Mr. Macirone.

The affair of this prisoner is proceeding with activity; and the interest which your Excellency takes in it, is to me a fresh inducement to hasten its conclusion. I shall immediately apprize your Excellency of the decision which may be given. The further information which it has been necessary to collect, and the nature of the mission in which Mr. Macirone figures as the principal agent, will explain the delays which have, until now, prevented the decision from taking place.

I have the honour to be, &c.

The Minister Secretary of State
For the Department of General Police,
(Signed) DE CAZES.

His Excellency Sir Charles Stuart.

P. S. If Mr. Macirone had merely made himself the bearer of the dispatches of Prince Metternich, no reproach could certainly be attached to him: but this kind of mission appears to have been undertaken in conjunction with others, in regard to which the Government has a right to exact explanations from him which he cannot refuse to give,* if it be really true, as he declares, that he acts with good faith, an opinion I am far from entertaining.

(Signed) DE CAZES.

* I answered every question that was put to me in the most candid manner, although my treatment justified every opposition on my part.

(I.)

(Copy.)

Paris, 24 Novembre, 1815.

MONSIEUR LE CHEVALIER,

JE crois devoir ajouter à la lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur d'adresser aujourd'hui même a Votre Excellence, concernant le M. Macirone que le Consul de S. M. le Roi des deux Siciles à Toulon, avoit dès le 3 de ce mois reclamè cet Officier, au nom de son Gouvernement et qu'il a prévenu de cette démarche Mons. l'Ambassadeur Napolitain à Paris. J'ignore encore quel peut être l'objet precis de cette intervention.

Les renseignemens que j'ai en occasion de récueillir m'apprennant que le M. Macirone est nè à Rome et que sa qualité est si peu eclaircie que dèrnierement encore il réclamoit du service en France. J'ai lieu de croire que ces explications ne seront pas sans influence sur l'interet que Votre Excellence tèmoigne prendre en sa faveur.

Agréez Mons. Le Chevalier, &c.

Le Ministre Secretaire d'Etat,

Au Departement de la Police Generale,

(Signed) DE CAZES.

Mons. Le Chev. Stuart.

(Translation.)

Paris, 24th November, 1815.

SIR,

I CONSIDER it my duty to add to the letter which I had the honour of addressing to your Excellency this day concerning M. Macirone, that the Consul of H. M. the King of the Two Sicilies, at Toulon, had claimed this officer in the name of his Government, since the 3d of this month, and that he has informed the Neapolitan Ambassador at Paris of this step. I am, as yet, igno-

rant of what may be the precise object of this intervention.

The information which I have had the means of collecting, instructs me that Mr. Macirone was born at Rome, and that his character is so far from being defined, that even recently he applied for an employment in the French service. I have reason to presume, that these explanations will not be without their influence on the interest which your Excellency manifests in his favour.

I have the honour, &c.

The Secretary of State
For the Department of General Police,
(Signed) DE CAZES.

His Excellency Sir Charles Stuart.

(K.)

Paris, 22d Jan. 1816.

SIR,

IN answer to the letter you have been pleased to address me, I think it necessary to send you the accompanying communication which I have received from the minister of the police.*

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) CHARLES STUART.

F. Macirone, Esq.

* Letter (L.)

(L.)

Paris le, 8th Janvrer, 1816.

Monsieur le Chevalier,

J'ai reçu la lettre que Votre Excellence m'à fait l'honneur de m'écrire endate du 4 court renfermant copie de celle que lui adresse Mons. Clarmont au nom de M. Macirone, et dans la quelle il réclame des effets retenus à mon Ministère lors de sa mise en liberté.

Les motifs qui ont fait suspendre la remise de ces effets tiennent à quelques doutes dont l'objet est sur le point d'être bientôt eclaircies. Je ne pense pas que rien s'oppose à ce que cette reclamation obtienne un effet entout conforme au desir que vous manifestez. Votre Excellence peut compter que je donnerai à cet objet l'attention qu'elle réclame et il me sera agreable en la satisfaisant à cet égard de lui témoigner combien j'attache de pris à faire quelque chose que lui soit agréable.

Je prie votre Excellence d'agréer, &c.

(Signed) DE CAZES,

M. Le Chevalier Stuart.

(Translation.)

Paris, Jan. 8, 1816.

SIR,

I HAVE received the letter which your Excellency has done me the honour to write me on the 4th of this month, inclosing a copy of the one which has been addressed to your Excellency by Mr. Clermont in the name of Mr. Macirone, and by which he reclaims certain effects retained by me at the time of his liberation.

The motives which have caused the delivery of these effects to be suspended, are connected with certain doubts, the subject of which is on the point of being speedily cleared up. I do not think but that this recla-

mation will have a result perfectly conformable to the desires which you manifest. Your Excellency may depend upon my devoting to this affair all the attention which it requires: and it will be most agreeable to me, by satisfying your Excellency on this head, to evince how highly I appreciate the opportunity of doing any thing which may be agreeable to your Excellency.

I pray your Excellency to believe me,

&c. &c.

(Signed) DE CAZES.

His Excellency Sir C. Stuart.

(M.)

Paris, May 29, 1816.

SIR,

IN answer to the several letters you have been pleased to address me, I am to acquaint you that the bill for forty thousand francs signed by Joachim Murat, and seized among your papers by the police has been restored to me. I have delivered this effect to Mr. Clermont, of the house of Perrigaux, Lafitte, and Co. together with the copy of a letter from M. De Cazes, of which Mr. Clermont acknowledges the receipt in the accompanying communication.

I am, Sir,

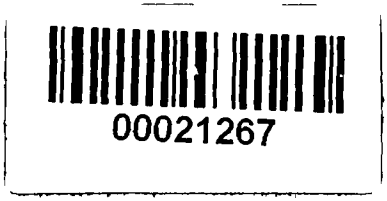
Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) C. STUART.

Mr. F. Macirone.

THE END.

W. Flint, Printer, Old Bailey, London.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